# HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

THIRTY-FIVE CENTS

NEWSPAPER

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## Looks to '66 Elections

# Communist Party Plans Invasion of Poverty Boards

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BY VICTOR RIESEL

Communist leaders went bourgeois the other day.

They declared their own Christmas truce in their war against American capitalism. They shut down their national headquarters on 26th Street in New York City for a long capitalist-type weekend and mixed with the upper classes.

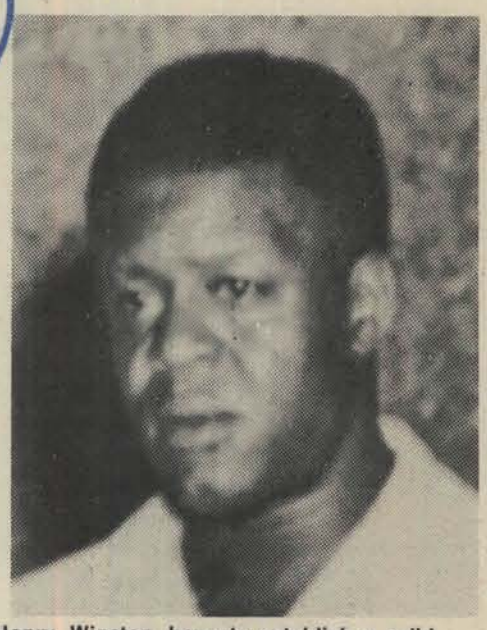
But it was a temporary armistice. During the early weeks of 1966, the party will go round the clock during a series of National Board and regional secret meetings to prepare a new statement of policy, an agenda for an early spring convention temporarily fixed for Chicago, and the appointment of big city campaign cadres.

**For the party plans to nominate candidates in especially selected "ghetto" districts in an effort to get at least one representative into Congress and roll up a total of a million votes in the nation's biggest cities, ranging from New York to Los Angeles.**

This will not be easy. Considerable money and manpower will be needed. But both are readily available. Communist "spokesmen" and their special anonymous "advisers" are realists. They know that they can get their people on the ballots as official Communists in only some 15 states. Elsewhere there are laws barring them.

But this is no obstacle, though overcoming the statutes will take much planning. Their orders are to launch "united fronts" and "non-front fronts." This jargon is no gibberish. It has significant meaning for the politics of 1966.

If Communist political plans are implemented, the "spokesmen" will launch peace parties, grass-roots parties, peoples' rights parties, poverty parties, and even small labor parties—all depending on the areas in which they plan to operate.



Communist leaders Gus Hall (left) and Henry Winston hope to establish a solid political base by using the poor as electoral pawns to gain office.

Observers are watching especially for two stratagems. One is the peace party operation. This, the Communist "spokesmen" hope, will recapture the youth from such neo-revolutionary action groups as the Mao-ist Progressive Labor party. And the orthodox Communist officials hope to win strong support from the hundreds of anti-war groups on the American campus.

The second tactic, no less ambitious, will be the invasion of the poverty program precinct administrative groups. This has been carefully (scientifically is the word they use) delineated by Communist tacticians.

**Their strategy will be to foliate the elections of the poor to local administrative boards by sprinkling Communist activists into the local committees. This will be simple. The same tactic will be used which was so successful during the early days of the CIO, when so many of the unions were captured by Communists who caucused before each membership meeting.**

It was Communist "spokesman" Henry Winston, who spelled out the scheme in an international Marxist publication recently after spending many months in Moscow.

Here are his own words so there can be no doubt of his message to other world Communist leaders:

"Today, the Economic Opportunity Act contains a section (Title II) which calls for 'maximum feasible participation' of the poor themselves in the fight against poverty. It has already become the basis for organizing struggles in the slums and ghetto communities, and it offers the point of departure for helping to rally the rank-and-file millions into a powerful mass movement which can in turn serve to extend and strengthen the role of the trade union movement in the country," he said.

When Comrade Winston talks of the role of the trade union move refers, of course, to those areas into which he hopes to mo munist actionists.

Winston and his colleagues n ceased dreaming of and planning for the recapture of the power which was theirs inside labor during the late '30s and early '40s.

"The merger of the three major currents of struggle," he continued, "—for peace, civil rights and economic welfare—can develop into a mighty anti-monopoly coalition. The Communist party, despite all difficulties, has been a part of these struggles. It has contributed much to their advance and can help even more to advance this process of development in the future."

This, concludes Winston, will build a mighty new Communist party.

**Winston's words are significant not for their prediction of a powerful Marxist movement in the United States, but for what they reveal of Communist tactics. Infiltration of the poverty election machinery and capture of candidacies of the poor could give the Communists control of whole municipal poverty boards down below.**

In turn these could be used as political bases. And even the election of one congressman—as they did in the late '30s—or one city councilman, which they also accomplished then, during the WPA days, could give the Communists a powerful international propaganda weapon. "Peace" speeches of such men or women would flood the world in behalf of the Viet Cong forces.

This Communist program has built-in contempt for the poor of our land. The party simply means to exploit them politically with its new domestic liberation fronts.

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## When HUMAN EVENTS Speaks

**PEOPLE not only listen— they ACT!**

***WHY?***

**See page 16**



## There Are Alternatives To Federal Aid to Education

Dr. John Howard, President of Rockford College, shows why Washington should be avoided and tells how this can be done.

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## Thanks to Socialism, Famine Again Stalks the Earth

Page 12


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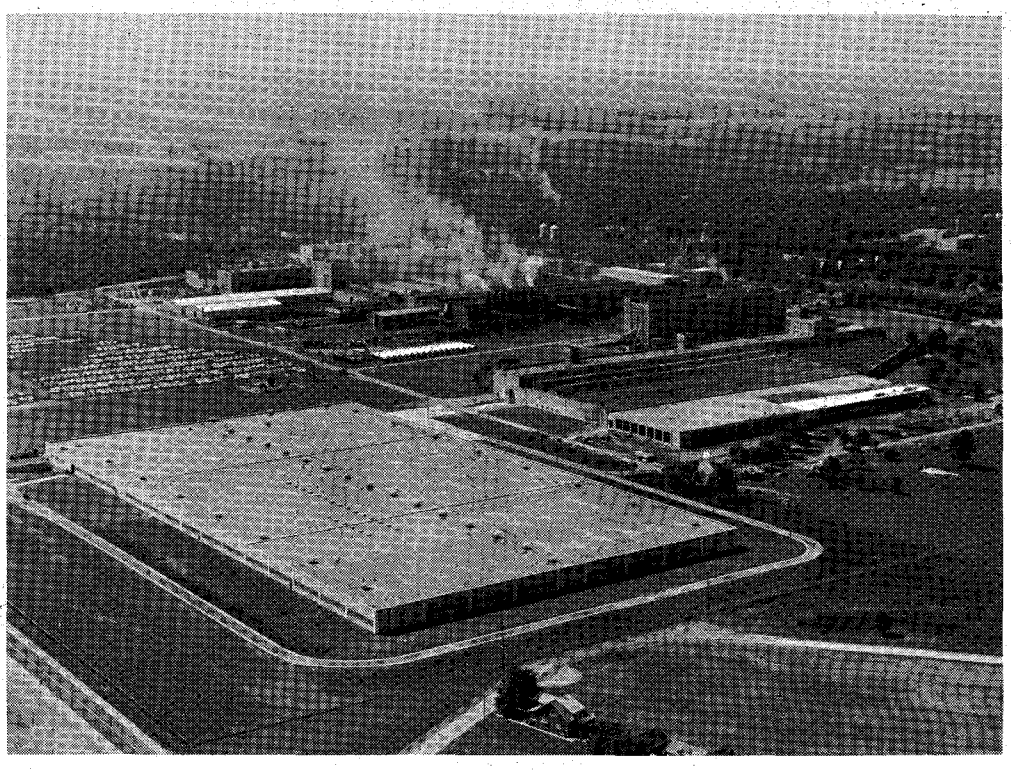

**The Kohler plant in Wisconsin**

# UAW Victory at Kohler

From the Arizona *Republic*

A shameful chapter in American history was closed recently when the Kohler Co., victimized by the United Auto Workers, the courts and the National Labor Relations Board, agreed to pay $4.5 million in back pay and pensions.

The Wisconsin plumbingware company had no other choice. The NLRB saw to that when, last year, it ordered Kohler to reinstate with 2½ years back pay (plus 6 per cent interest) some 57 strike leaders who were fired during the company's dispute with the UAW.

**The NLRB sided with the union on every issue to come before it, even though union hoodlums were guilty of more than 800 acts of violence ranging from beatings to bombings.**

By ruling that Kohler was guilty of an unfair labor practice (that of granting nonstrikers a 3-cent wage increase two months after the walkout on April 5, 1954), rather than that the strike was an economic dispute, the NLRB made sure the strikers were entitled to reinstatement. Whereupon it ordered the company to rehire all but 77 of the almost 2,000 strikers fired after they walked out.

And the Supreme Court, which boasts of its commitment to individual rights, ran true to form in cases involving union abuse and terrorism by refusing to review the reinstatement order.

**So after 11½ years, the UAW—which spent $12 million on strike benefits alone—has won. Individual members will receive amounts ranging up to $10,000. The instigators of violence and goon tactics are secure in their jobs. Only the public has lost.**

For the issue which led to the walkout was, as the news wires so delicately put it, "union security." In other words, whether individual workers could be forced to join a union against their will.

Kohler, whose employes earned higher wages than comparable workers at the time of the walkout ($87.45 vs. $76.04), contended that it was wrong to force workers to join a union. But Walter Reuther, who seems ever to be accepting plaques and citations for advancing the cause of human rights and brotherhood, thought otherwise and proclaimed his determination to fight forever to bring Kohler to its knees.

**Thanks to the politically oriented NLRB, the UAW did not need to wait anywhere near that long.**

Thus the Kohler case becomes part of history—an ignoble part. Yet the question of whether labor unions can impress workers remains as important as ever—more important, perhaps, inasmuch as organized labor and the Administration have joined in an attempt to strip states of their right to ban compulsory unionism.

It is a campaign no less important to the freedom of individual American men than the struggle currently being waged by U.S. servicemen in Asia.

□ □ □

# U.S.-USSR Consular Pact

By SEN. JACK MILLER (R.-Iowa)

This is an unprecedented proposal. Now we have granted immunity quite consistently from prosecution for misdemeanors—minor offenses—but for murder, for espionage, there is no immunity that has ever been granted.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, presented some very alarming testimony earlier this year. He pointed out that there are 800 Communist bloc nationals here in the United States attached to the embassies and consulates and consular offices, and that most of these—the great majority of them—are tied in with the Soviet espionage apparatus and that they pose a serious danger to the security of the United States.

They operate this way under the realization that if they are caught they can be prosecuted here in the United States—and some of them have, quite a number of them have. But under this treaty, they would be immune.

□ □ □

**REVENGE**—Probably the best way to get even with the income tax people is to get Junior to work out your tax returns—using new math.—From the *Jay-Bee Upsondowns*

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# New Secret Wheat Deal with Egypt Uncovered

From the Allen-Scott Report

The State Department is in the process of bestowing a munificent Christmas gift on President Gamal Nasser.

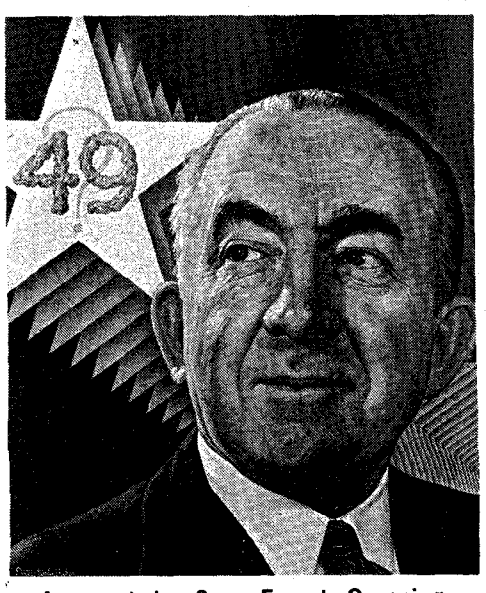
It's another huge hand-out of surplus food—which he desperately needs.

**Despite the Egyptian ruler's close Moscow and Peking ties, his channeling of Soviet arms to the Communist-led Congo rebels, public flouting of U.S. aid, the mobbing and burning of U.S. information centers and libraries, and his shipping of large quantities of rice to Cuba, East Germany, Bulgaria and Indonesia in direct violation of U.S. Public Law 480, the State Department is concluding another big "sale" of wheat and other surplus commodities for Nasser's currency.**

The United States already has more than $550 million in such counterpart funds in Egypt.

Details of this latest deal are shrouded in tightest secrecy.

Under the foreign aid act passed by Congress this year, the President can authorize another food give-away to



**A report by Sen. Ernest Gruening (D.-Alaska) says U.S. aid to Nasser has freed rice for export to Communist countries.**

Nasser only on the ground it's in the "national interest." He must formally notify Congress of that.

Also, this law expressly limits such "sales" to Nasser to one year. The late President Kennedy approved a three-year agreement of around $500 million.

Efforts to ascertain details of this new deal have been stonily rebuffed. But despite the Administration's drum-tight secrecy, congressional authorities have ferreted out the following:

- $150 million of surplus wheat and other commodities are being "sold" to Nasser under Title 1 of P.L. 480—that is, for his own currency, which will be added to the immense accumulation of such counterpart funds that the United States already has in Egypt.
- While the agreement is for one year—the maximum permitted by Congress—Nasser initially will get a six-month supply of food. If no hitch has developed after the expiration of that period, the remaining half will be shipped.

In this way the Administration apparently hopes to keep a checkrein on the volatile Egyptian dictator. Whether it works out that way remains to be seen.

Sen. Ernest Gruening (D.-Alaska), chairman of the subcommittee on foreign aid expenditures, in a comprehensive report several months ago charged that "wheat 'sold' to Egypt has not been used to increase the food supply of that country, but rather to free rice, which otherwise would be consumed within Egypt, for sale and barter to Communist countries."

These Egyptian rice exports in 1964, as uncovered by Gruening from official sources, were as follows:

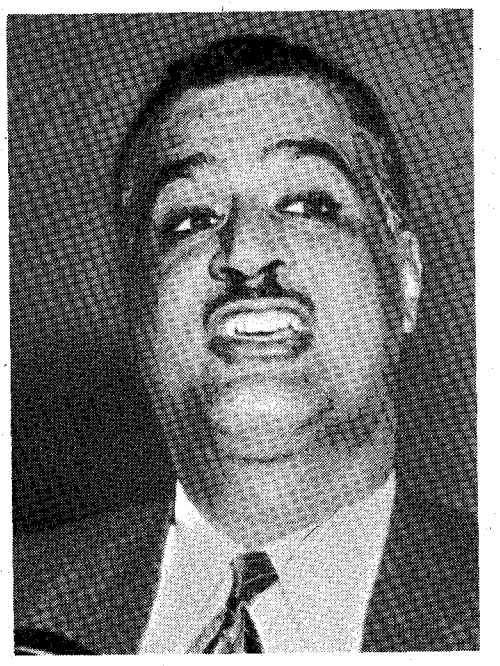
Russia 131,000 metric tons; Cuba 62,000; Czechoslovakia 24,000; Red China 20,000; Poland 16,000; Rumania 17,000; Yugoslavia 16,000; East Germany 13,000; Hungary 6,000; Bulgaria 4,000; Indonesia 52,000; Syria 20,000; Lebanon 13,000; Iraq 4,000.

**"Egypt exported more than 455,000 metric tons of rice in 1964," declared Gruening. "The wheat that we ship to Egypt has been substituted for rice. The Food for Peace program which is paid for by American taxpayers is being used by Nasser to help the economies of Communist nations. Thus it is obvious that foreign aid from the United States is bolstering Communist economies throughout the world and their aggressions and machinations.**

"Not only is it contributing to the economic well-being of the Communist empire, but our foreign aid program enables Castro to devote more of his resources to armament and upheavals instead of food. The U.S. taxpayer is being forced, through the foreign aid program, to support the economy of a Communist dictatorship 90 miles from our shore.

"And to cap it all, our aid program to Egypt is contributing appreciably to the increasingly critical deficit in our balance of payments."

Earlier, the Senate Appropriations Committee reported that the best-kept secret in Egypt was the immense quantities of food the United States has poured into that country since 1953—a total of more than $900 million.



**President Nasser keeps Egyptians uninformed about U.S. aid to their country.**

An on-the-spot survey by committee investigators found that Nasser bars all publicity about this crucial U.S. aid. The average Egyptian is totally unaware of it.

On the other hand, Nasser has repeatedly publicly extolled Russia and its satellites for their aid. Several months ago, his press and radio made a great to-do when a Soviet freighter unloaded a small shipment of wheat. But a few weeks later when $17 million of U.S. grain arrived, not a word was said about it.

British manufacturers of railway equipment have made new large sales to Communist-ruled Cuba. The closely guarded transactions were handled by the Moscow Narodny Bank, as the Castro regime has no financial agents in London. This latest Cuban order calls for 10 diesel electric locomotives with spare parts, to be delivered next July, and various other rail equipment. The total is around $5 million.

Congressional defense authorities are privately saying they will seek a showdown with President Johnson and Defense Secretary McNamara on putting the long-developing NIKE-X anti-missile missile into production. After 10 years and some $2 billion of research and development, the Administration is still dragging its feet on taking concrete action on this crucial weapon. Congressional leaders are determined to force a decision.

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**PEACENIKS HELP VC**—"The only way that the Communists could make the United States welsh on its commitment to Viet Nam is if American public opinion in the 1960s were to become as demoralized as French public opinion in the 1950s. This is something the Communists are working very hard to accomplish, and there are a great many Americans unwittingly serving the Viet Cong objective of undermining the nation's will and stamina."—By Marguerite Higgins in her book *Our Viet Nam Nightmare*

□ □ □

**FALSE TEACHING**—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover lashed out recently at the judicial bleeding hearts who blame the soaring crime rate on myriad sociological factors. "Of all the factors involved," he says, "I am convinced one of the most damaging is the false teaching which tends to blame society for all the frustrations, woes and inconveniences, real or imaginary, visited upon our young people."


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# CAPITOL CAMERA

• A prominent financier and Democratic party fund raiser has voiced criticism of the business community for refusing to talk back to LBJ when he takes anti-business stands. In a December 22 speech, Bart Lytton, chairman and president of Lytton Financial Corp., stated: "The shadow President Johnson casts is no longer one clearly defined as a friend of business. . . . If we are to have price-control prosperity by stockpile; that is, government agencies keeping a firm foot on prices by use of stockpiles, then is it not better that it be by machinery legally set up for that purpose, with proper checks and balances, rather than by one-man fiat?' Lytton remarked there had been much undercurrent of criticism directed against LBJ, but remarked: "There has been an amazing amount of timidity on the part of otherwise stand-up businessmen over differing in public with the Administration."

LBJ

• *The AFL-CIO last year took in an estimated $11.3 million from its 128 affiliated national and international unions. The* Ohio State Labor News *reports that $984,488 went for "public relations," including $590,009 for the radio sponsorship of Edward R. Morgan and other labor "spokesmen."*

• Sen. Jack Miller (R.-Iowa) has called for a congressional investigation into the flood of Chinese Communist propaganda coming into the United States. Miller, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, says the propaganda is "one aspect of the psychological war being waged against the United States and its people by the Communist world." Miller charged the State Department was indifferent to the problem and suggested the congressional probe to see if there were a need for a change in regulations that allow the material into this country.

MILLER

• *The San Diego* Union *reports that the Democratic National Committee has launched a public relations campaign designed to convince voters that LBJ is a frugal man. "The program is expected to help counter reaction to the size of the fiscal 1967 budget," the paper reports. The campaign to depict the President as a man dedicated to economy was begun in the* Democrat, *the committee's official newspaper. It begins by assuring readers that "President Johnson has been dedicated to economy in government from the time he assumed office."*

• State Department spokesmen say that Yale Prof. Staughton Lynd is probably in violation of the Logan Act in dealing with the North Vietnamese in Hanoi. The Logan Act forbids private citizens to negotiate with foreign governments. Lynd traveled to North Viet Nam in defiance of a U.S. travel ban to confer with Red leaders on the war. He was accompanied by Herbert Aptheker, a top leader of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and by Tom Hayden, a leader of the radical Students for a Democratic Society.

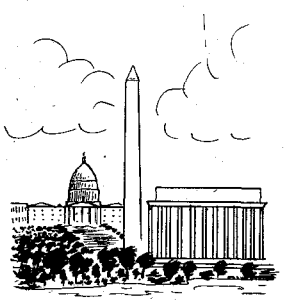
LYND

• *The United Auto Workers announced recently it had raised $30,000 for the reelection campaign of Sen. Paul Douglas (D.-Ill). The generosity is understandable: figures published by the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education give Douglas a 100 per cent pro-labor voting record. Douglas will be opposed by Republican Charles Percy, chairman of Bell and Howell.*

# This Week in Washington

## LBJ's Peace Offensive

The intense new effort by the Administration to arrange a permanent cease-fire in South Viet Nam is in large part due to the concession apparatus in the United States. Such is the judgment along Diplomatic Row.



Not widely realized is that a key member of that group, Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.), was one of those who helped to persuade the President to call for the 30-hour Christmas truce which the Reds violated at least 84 times. The "truce" became the first momentous step in the Administration's new all-out peace offensive last week.

McGovern's office confirmed to *Human Events* a report by columnist Jack Anderson that the truce "grew out of a telephone call from Sen. George McGovern, who phoned the President after the senator's return earlier this month [December] from Viet Nam. McGovern urged the President not only to accept the Communist offer of a 12-hour Christmas truce but to announce to the world that he had ordered his forces not to resume the fighting again after Christmas unless they were fired upon."

McGovern's office, while disclaiming primary credit for LBJ's actions, did say that Anderson's column was "reasonably accurate" and that McGovern had in mid-December made such a suggestion which the President said he "appreciated" and would pursue further.

There is strong reason to believe that the President was attempting to arrange the *de facto* Christmas truce as early as last October. *Human Events* noted in the October 23 issue (page 4):

"Reports emanating from sources close to the White House . . . reveal that the Johnson Administration may be willing to risk losing [recent] military gains at the bargaining table if the Communists are ready to negotiate.

"Informed insiders continue to assert that both LBJ and the Soviets are pushing for a cease-fire by next year—some say as early as Christmas of this year."

Whether there will be a permanent truce is highly problematical, but "Operation Peace" was in full swing last week:

The United States told Hanoi that the pause in bombing North Viet Nam was an attempt to draw its leaders to the negotiating table. At virtually the same time roving Ambassador W. Averell Harriman went to Warsaw where, it was reported, he was to meet with Red Polish representatives in regard to Viet Nam. In addition, the Soviet news agency, Tass, announced a high-level Soviet delegation led by Aleksander Shelepin, a senior Communist party official, was about to head for Hanoi on an unspecified mission. Furthermore, the Viet Cong themselves have offered a new cease-fire arrangement in January. Even the U.S.'s chief delegate to the United Nations, Arthur Goldberg, met with the Pope in an attempt to get the Vatican's view of the Viet Nam crisis.

Diplomatic observers in the United States are alarmed at the apparent new peace offensive, feeling this will undercut the government in Saigon (see story below). The South Vietnamese leaders have made it clear they are opposed to a formal cease-fire or even unconditional negotiations, indicating that any cease-fire now would leave the Reds the clear military victors and that the West could only bargain from a position of weakness.

**These sentiments were echoed by Foreign Minister Tran Van Do just last week, who stressed: "Negotiations around a conference table are impossible at the present time."**

Military experts also view any truce as working to the advantage of the Reds. Lt. Col Pham Anh, a province chief in South Viet Nam, said after the Christmas truce: "It is a good lesson to all of us; costly but a good one. The only people to profit from a truce are the Communists."

Col. Anh made the statement after the Communists had "observed" the Christmas truce in a tiny Mekong delta village by killing at least 16 persons, two of them children.

Nevertheless, the Administration, bowing before leftist pressures, seems intent on pushing for further cease-fires and bomb pauses—even when it is to our military disadvantage.

## "Truce"—A Weapon of War

Scripps-Howard columnist Ray Cromley, an expert on Red tactics, wrote last week that "For two decades the cease-fire has been a major Communist military weapon. A cease-fire, with the United States as moderator, enabled Mao Tse-tung's Communists to take over China. It gave them the time and the safety from attack they needed to arm themselves with weapons the Japanese surrendered at the end of World War II.

"Mao's armies were militarily weak, had few arms and little ammunition. The Japanese were surrendering large quantities of weapons to anyone on hand. The Chinese Communists needed a breathing spell to get those arms to their scattered troops. The cease-fire gave them that period of safety. They kept the truce only long enough to finish refitting.

**"When they began to lose in Korea, the Chinese Reds called for truce talks. These talks halted the big U.S. drive north. The Chinese stalled while they built up their local forces, corrected their basic weaknesses in weapons and equipment.**

"This buildup meant that a resumed U.S. advance would have been much more costly. It put the United States in a weaker bargaining position, enabled Mao to put through an agreement so impotent he broke it openly and repeatedly.

"Hanoi used the Laotian talks to strengthen its military positions.

"In South Viet Nam, a cease-fire would give the Communists a free hand to recruit and train additional troops and to infiltrate more arms and men."

## Conservative Candidate's Kitty

Texas GOP Chairman Peter O'Donnell has given some holiday cheer to conservative candidates. O'Donnell recently announced that leaders of the still-functioning Citizens for Goldwater-Miller Committee have decided unanimously to spend the money left in the group's treasury on conservative Republicans seeking reelection to Congress next year. The citizens' organization reportedly has close to $200,000 in the kitty. The decision was arrived at in a December 12 meeting in Washington and though Goldwater didn't attend, it was known to have his approval.

The citizens' committee has already reported political contributions of $24,000 in 1965. One beneficiary was Tom Van Sickle, who ran successfully for the presidency of the Young Republican National Federation. Reports to the House of Representatives reveal Van Sickle received $8,000.

**Another $5,000 contribution has gone to an organization called Friends of John Tower to help the Texas senator in his tough re-election fight this year.**

In deciding what candidates to support, Wiley T. Buchanan, treasurer of the citizens' organization, has asked the Congressional Campaign Committee for a list of GOP congressmen whose margin of victory was less than 5 per cent of the vote. The committee has supplied a list of 49 Republicans along with a compilation of the way they have been rated by both liberal and conservative organizations.

The organization reported that as of August 31 it had received $23,377 in contributions during 1965.





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## New Education Commissioner

Nothing has changed in the Office of Education. The new U.S. commissioner of education, Harold Howe II, will plump for as much federal control over the local schools as his predecessor, Francis Keppel, who has just been promoted to an assistant secretary post in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

A Yale graduate, Howe has spent most of his career as a superintendent of exclusive schools in Massachusetts and New York. In a recent interview he explained his experience had strengthened rather than diminished his conviction that the federal government needs to be a "stronger partner in the educational enterprise."

Disparaging local control, he said that it "gives the communities the right to have both good and bad schools, and the right has been liberally exercised in both directions.

**"What the federal government is now about . . . is to curtail the right to have bad schools."**

Thus, Howe is on record that the federal government, not the local communities, must decide what is or is not a bad school. Hence the public can expect further and more furious attempts by the Office of Education to extend its domination over local schools.

## The Peace Candidates

So-called "peace" forces in Berkeley, Chicago and New York have jumped into the electoral arena for the purpose of running candidates for Congress in 1966.

Groups named the Committee for Independent Political Action, reports the pro-Communist *National Guardian*, have been formed in Chicago and New York. Neither, however, has announced a candidate, but both have stressed the need for an alliance between the peace, civil rights and student protest movements to build up local radical constituencies. (See cover for story on Communist party election plans.)

In Berkeley, peace activists have proposed Robert Scheer, foreign editor of an ultra-liberal magazine, *Ramparts*, to run against liberal Democrat Jeffrey Cohelan in California's 7th district. Says the *Guardian*: "Many persons associated with the militant Viet Nam Day Committee are expected to support Scheer." Scheer worked through Americans for Democratic Action in support of Estes Kefauver in 1956 and Adlai Stevenson in 1960.

**The New York CIPA group was formally organized December 8 with James Weinstein, an editor of** Studies on the Left, **as chairman, and Stanley Aronowitz as vice chairman.**

Aronowitz is an organizer for the AFL-CIO Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Union and a delegate-at-large to the national council of Students for a Democratic Society. The 12-man CIPA executive committee includes Henry Abrams, an identified Communist and Fifth Amendment pleader, who was even bounced from SANE because of his Communist background.

In New York, the focus of CIPA is the 19th Congressional District, now represented by Rep. Leonard Farbstein. Spokesmen for CIPA say: "We do not reject the concept of coalition politics but we feel this is secondary to the building of a radical constituency." CIPA sees its role "as part of building a national radical political movement."

The Chicago CIPA, formed independently of New York, has called for an "independent and anti-establishment political movement" and "a major campaign for a peaceful foreign policy." The organizing group is headed by attorney Irving Birnbaum. Sponsors include Paul Booth national secretary of SDS, Timuel D. Black Jr., Chicago president of the Negro American Labor Council, and Dick Gregory, Negro comedian who plans to challenge Mayor Richard Daley in the 1967 municipal elections.

These "independent" political movements, it is said, were spurred into existence as a result of a meeting on November 28 in Washington, D.C., at which radical elements called for political action. The Washington conference was called by Paul Booth of SDS; Ronnie Dugger, editor of the liberal *Texas Observer*; Mike Miller of Friends of SNCC; Gifford Phillips of Californians for Liberal Representation; H. Stuart Hughes, co-chairman of SANE. Arthur Waskow, director of the Institute of Policy Studies in Washington, helped initiate the all-day session.

## The Budget Blues

LBJ is continuing to discover what conservatives have told him all along: It is difficult for the nation to have guns and butter at the same time. The Texas White House, in fact, has indicated that LBJ's spending troubles are so numerous that he may ask Congress for a short extension of the deadline for submitting his annual budget, scheduled to be the biggest in American history. A delay is also expected in the submission of the President's annual economic report.

**Fiscal experts stress that LBJ has limited room to maneuver and will find it a hard struggle to keep his new budget in the neighborhood of $110 billion. The President, it is reported, may have to increase the burdens of the weary taxpayer in order to hold down inflation.**

Spending in the current fiscal year has already soared. November outlays for all federal programs were the highest for any month in U.S. history. The defense budget for next year is due to skyrocket to at least $60 billion, 13 per cent above this fiscal year and some $15 billion above Eisenhower's last defense budget.

Total spending in the regular (administrative) budget for fiscal 1965, which ended last June 30, was $86.5 billion. The latest official estimate for the current fiscal year, now half over, is $105 to $107 billion.

In spite of the skyrocketing costs, however, a high Administration source is quoted as saying, "The President is not going to sacrifice the 'Great Society.' " New York *Times* economics writer Edwin Dale reports, furthermore, that the fiscal 1967 budget, on which the President is working, may even soar above the $110-billion figure currently being tossed about.

Part of the reason LBJ feels impelled to keep non-defense spending high is the pressure of militant Negro civil rights leaders such as Martin Luther King. King has, in effect, threatened to blackmail LBJ, telling him that a rollback on domestic programs would drive Negroes into the peace movement protesting the war in Viet Nam.

Notes Dale: "Apart from new and expanded programs in the 'Great Society' area—education, health, welfare, anti-poverty, anti-pollution and the like—there will be several built-in increases in the budget. . . .

"It has also been disclosed that total spending in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare will rise, possibly substantially.

"Increases in one major area, public assistance grants to the states, were announced . . . to take effect January 1. They will affect the next budget more than the current one."

Some areas of spending, such as in the farm program, may be reduced, says Dale, but in other areas "Mr. Johnson himself has reportedly upheld appeals from Cabinet officers against cuts proposed by the Budget Bureau."

## Peace Corps Notes

Dr. Hastings Banda, premier of the African nation of Malawi, has delivered an ultimatum to the U.S. Peace Corps workers in his country: Clean up or get out.

The message was given to Deputy Peace Corps Director Will Lotter, who was in Malawi recently. Banda said that Peace Corps workers were setting a bad example for the people they were supposed to be helping, getting drunk in African beer halls, living with African girls and getting themselves mixed up in African politics.

Rep. Edward Derwinski (R.-Ill.), just back from a tour of Africa, reports much the same thing. In an interview with the Chicago *Tribune*, Derwinski said that many Peace Corps volunteers in Africa are promiscuous with the natives, are coddled and fed by one to three servants and have stayed in the Peace Corps just to evade the draft and the war in Viet Nam.

**"It's better to put up with life in Ethiopia than to be a soldier in Viet Nam," one Peace Corpsman told him frankly.**

## CAPITOL CAMERA

• Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, former Air Force chief of staff, has charged that Defense Secretary McNamara's planned cutbacks in manned aircraft may be "signalling the end of the country." LeMay scoffed at McNamara's plan to use the TFX fighter as a replacement for the B-52 bomber, asserting the TFX is too small and too slow for the job. "We have had sorry experience in the past trying to stretch out one type of aircraft to do a different job," he said. (For more on this subject see page 15.)

LEMAY

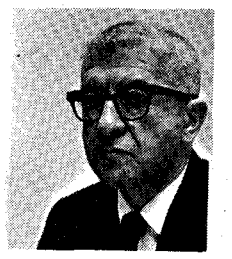
• *Why does the supposedly conservative Chamber of Commerce continue to have its policies set by Erwin D. Canham, the super-liberal editor-in-chief of the* Christian Science Monitor*? As reported by* Human Events *last spring, Canham, then in charge of the chamber's Foreign Policy Committee, had pressed the chamber to pass two controversial resolutions, one which called for scrapping the Connally Amendment and another which many interpreted as coming out for trade with Red China. In spite of his liberal proclivities, however, the chamber then appointed him to a special task force on Social Security—and Canham's task force did the predictable: it came out for higher Social Security benefits, which would, of course, mean higher taxes for both businessmen and job holders. Why, ask some exasperated businessmen, does the chamber keep asking Canham for policy recommendations?*

• Richard Cardinal Cushing said recently that he did not believe President John F. Kennedy could have been re-elected in 1964. The prelate, a close personal friend of the late President, explained: "The Democratic party in the north was in a mess; the South was against him; Cuba would always loom as the Achilles heel of the Administration; and a lot of people who worked for him before, hoping for patronage, were disappointed."

KENNEDY

• *More evidence that our soldiers are without ammunition in Viet Nam: A GI from Denver in a Viet Nam combat zone recently wrote his father that the Army won't allow the battalion to keep its rifles loaded. Writing from Phan Rang Province, Spec. 4 James Martin told his father Emmett: "This is supposed to be a combat zone but they are trying to run this place like it was back in the states. They took our ammunition away from us and when we get attacked, we have to stand in line and wait and draw it while they shoot at us." Martin, who has been in the Army for two years, is a diesel mechanic and served in Germany before going to Viet Nam.*

• *People's World*, West coast organ of the Communist party, is enthusiastic over what it terms the "liberal-left sweep" in recent student elections at the University of California at Berkeley. An avowed Communist, Bettina Aptheker, led all candidates for the newly created Campus Rules Committee. All 26 candidates of the leftist student party, SLATE, were elected delegates to a scheduled student constitutional convention. Chief theoretician for the CPUSA is Bettina's father, Herbert Aptheker.


HERBERT APTHEKER

• *Comedian Bob Hope, on his 14th Christmas tour for GIs, flew into Saigon last week and cheered up thousands of fighting men with his famous wit. On the subject of "Vietnik" demonstrators, Hope had this to say: "You know, they have a new draft classification for the demonstrators—8E. In case of invasion they stay behind and pile sandbags around the statue of Benedict Arnold."*



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# The Kremlin Desperately Needs an Outside Enemy

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

It would manifestly be to the advantage of North Viet Nam to end the war in Southeast Asia. But what would Red China or Soviet Russia stand to get out of it, provided the struggle can be kept going without a clear-cut victory for the United States? Every bit of evidence about trouble in the two great Red empires shows that they need an outside villain in order to damp down domestic unrest. The United States, attacking a "Socialist brother," provides the villain.

**The Kremlin in particular is in need of a scapegoat. The Russian people are tired of exhortations to be good Communists. The peasants don't work, and the bi-monthly magazine of the Assembly of Captive European Nations, working from figures gathered from Communist publications, tells us that the total grain harvest for the USSR and East Europe in 1965 is 25 to 30 million tons less than in 1964. To pay for outside grain, the Russians have to let gold and oil go to the West at less than production cost.**

Meanwhile they sweat the satellites by drastically overcharging them on oil, coal, chrome and pig iron. Diesel oil costs 80 per cent more in East Germany than in West Germany. The chief of East Germany's Planning Commission, Dr. Erich Apel, recently committed suicide hours before he was supposed to sign a new sweatshop trade agreement with Moscow.

The *Penkovskiy Papers*, written while Khrushchev was still the big boss, are packed with items about the cynicism of the Russian intermediate leadership. Things evidently haven't improved since Khrushchev's downfall.

Peter Kruzhin, a knowledgeable analyst for the Institute for the Study of the USSR in Munich, has combed the Soviet press for complaints about the "windbags, eye-washers, lovers of glorification and demagoguery" who have joined the Communist party merely to push "their own personal well-being." Two publications, *Kommunist* and *Kommunist Vooruzhennykh Sil*, have recently condemned Khrushchev for bringing four million "inexperienced" members into the party to swell its ranks with "transgressors against Socialist discipline, plunderers of government property, careerists and other unscrupulous individuals." Peter Kruzhin's multiplication of such information taken from official Soviet sources would seem to portend a purge.

Evidently Brezhnev and Kosygin despair of making life any easier for the Russian masses. So a new stern moralism must be invoked. The Communist Central Committee, in a resolution reported in the Central Committee's own journal, *Partiinaya Zhizn*, has just made an example of the Kharkov Oblast Party Organization, calling upon it to put "an end once and for all to the laxity and liberalism that have been displayed toward members and candidate members of the party."

The recent Soviet budget was an indication of a new stern line, with more hardware being allotted to the army and a cutback invoked on investment in consumer goods. The consumer supposedly gets a break in the increased sums voted for agricultural improvement, but this is a matter of desperation. After all, no government can chance a war without reserves of food.

**To impose a new Puritanism on a weary people, Brezhnev needs a taut and responsive party and a satisfied army. But above all he needs a big outside menace. Hence, presumably, the whipped-up campaign against the U. S. course in Viet Nam. Hence, too, the severity of Kosygin's recent denunciation of U.S. foreign policy.**

But the question is whether the exhortations to morality will really work. If the United States limits its positive attack on communism to Southeast Asia, leaving the Russians severely alone, is it likely that a disillusioned Soviet people will take this business about the big, bad Washington wolf too seriously? After all, the Russians in the Ukraine didn't really begin to fight the Nazis until Hitler began to maltreat his captives there. To give any semblance of truth to the claims that the United States is a terrible menace, it would seem that the Kremlin must do all it can to keep peace from breaking out in Southeast Asia.

That isn't good for us. But at least it's some consolation to know that the Soviet policy leads from weakness, not strength.

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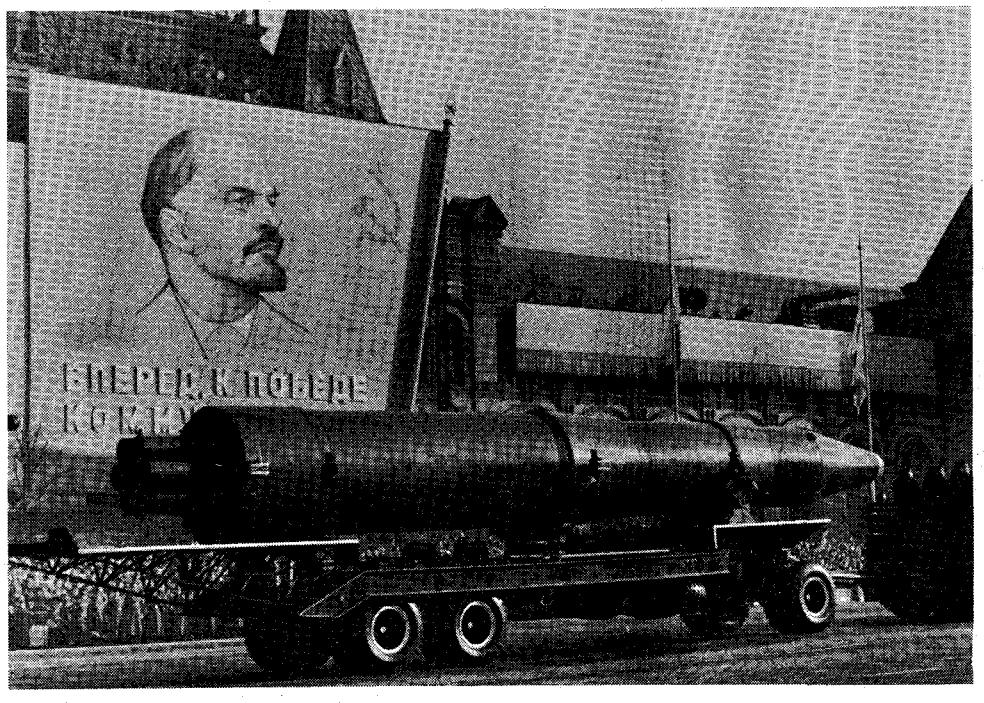

A missile being trucked across Moscow's Red Square past a picture of Lenin is symptomatic of the Soviet preference for guns over butter.

# Congress' Coming Great Debate On Legislative Reapportionment

From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

Before the second session of the 89th Congress is very old, Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R.-Ill.) is likely to reintroduce his proposed constitutional amendment to reserve to the states the right to apportion one house of their legislatures on a basis other than population.

Thus will begin Sen. Dirksen's third—and very possibly his last—effort to frustrate the ultimate effect of the Supreme Court's one man, one vote decision.

The battle that will be resumed with the reintroduction of the Dirksen amendment began in 1962, when the Supreme Court ruled that it was a proper procedure for the courts to delve into allegations of malapportionment of the state legislatures. The issue arose in Tennessee, which had failed to reapportion its legislature for more than half a century, despite a state constitutional mandate to do so at periodic intervals.

**Two years later, the Supreme Court went a step farther. It declared that both houses of every state legislature must be apportioned on a population basis; the vote of the city dweller must be roughly equivalent to the vote of the country dweller.**

The 1964 decision was perhaps the most revolutionary in our generation. For it unleashed a series of actions that have upset legislative apportionments from Maine to California. More important, it scrapped the tradition—observed in most states since their admission to the Union—that factors other than population deserved representation in a legislative assembly.

Sen. Dirksen's first move to halt the implementation of the one man, one vote formula came with a rider to the 1964 foreign aid bill. Its purpose was to delay the implementation of the court's decision until a constitutional amendment on reapportionment could be submitted to the states.

When that stratagem failed, Sen. Dirksen in 1965 submitted a constitutional amendment—the same amendment he presumably will sponsor in the new session of Congress. On August 4, the Senate defeated the Dirksen amendment by a vote of 57-39 (57 senators supported the amendment, seven short of the two-thirds margin necessary).

**Offhand, the outlook for the Dirksen amendment in 1966 is not especially cheery.**

To predict its failure, however, is to overlook the legislative adeptness of its sponsor. It is also to overlook the fact that 1966 is an election year, in which federal lawmakers are more likely than usual to be attuned to the sentiments of their constituents.

Whatever the outcome of the 1966 great debate on reapportionment, it is likely to represent one of the high points of the legislative year. It is also likely to cast a long shadow over the future of political life in the United States.

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# Defoliation: Where Have We Heard That Word Before?

From the Chicago *Tribune*

We were distressed to read a New York *Times* story headlined "Defoliation Unit Lives Perilously." We learn that the planes which spray the jungle in Viet Nam with a weed killer have been shot so many times by the enemy that they have been patched with bits of red metal until they look as though they have measles. The spray unit is using enough chemical to cover 20,000 acres a month.

Defoliation? Defoliation? Where have we heard that word before? Ah, it comes back to us.

In the 1964 presidential campaign Barry Goldwater was asked by a television interviewer, Howard K. Smith, about the war in Viet Nam.

TV commentator Howard K. Smith

"Now," Smith said, "a lot of supply lines seem to run in on the Laotian border, in any case through jungles and along trails. How could you interdict those?"

**Goldwater replied, "There have been several suggestions made. I don't think we would use any of them. But defoliation of the forests by low-yield atomic weapons could well be done."**

That did it. From that day forward, Goldwater was labeled as a trigger-happy fellow who was going to defoliate the forests and wouldn't scruple to use atomic bombs.

Well, Mr. Johnson is busy defoliating the forests, but finds weed killer does the job as well as atomic weapons and is politically preferable. Nobody is objecting to a technique which was considered reckless and irresponsible when Mr. Goldwater remarked that some people in Washington were thinking of defoliation but that he didn't think they would carry it out.

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This was the scene as Venezuelan firemen clean up after a bomb destroyed a Caracas department store. Castro sympathizers responsible were later captured.

***Subversion Main Topic***

# Red Conference Opens in Havana

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Professional revolutionaries from more than 60 nations are descending upon Havana for a momentous conclave, billed officially as the Afro-Asian and Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Congress.

The week-long conference, to open January 3, is supported by Moscow and Peking and designed to co-ordinate subversive movements throughout the world. Havana has been chosen as the site, according to the Cuban radio, to dramatize the impotence of the United States to do anything about it. A Cuban official, Jorge Serguera Rivier, was blunt in outlining the congress:

"The agenda calls for the intensification of all forms of struggle, including armed struggle, by the peoples of the three continents against imperialism, and particularly the struggle against U.S. imperialism. . . to support liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America in general, and the armed liberation struggle in particular."

Cuban interest in the "liberation" of Africa comes as no surprise to American experts. In September, Cuban-trained saboteurs were infiltrated into Rhodesia and the Congo. Directing this campaign, which continues to this day, is Pablo Ribalta, Cuban ambassador to the pro-Communist government of Tanzania.

**Dar-es-Salaam, the Tanzanian capital, has become the center of Cuban efforts to subvert Africa. In late May or early June, a Cuban vessel delivered more than 30 tons of Communist arms at Dar-es-Salaam and hundreds of Castro-trained Africans have been brought back to their native lands via the Tanzanian capital.**

In late June, 27 Senegalese were tried in Dakar and found guilty of subversion. One of the accused testified that the group had been recruited for guerrilla training in Mali, a pro-Communist neighbor, and then sent to Cuba for further schooling. He said they, as well as other Africans, stayed in Cuba for about eight months, returning to Senegal with instructions to overthrow that nation's pro-West government.

Cuban subversion continues to threaten Latin America. Venezuelan authorities recently raided a clandestine arsenal operated by the Communists outside Caracas. Interior Minister Don Gonzalo Barrios said the Red outpost contained enough explosives "to blow up the capital city."

The wife of a Venezuelan congressman was recently killed by a terrorist bomb hidden in a statue of the Virgin Mary. The religious figurine had been presented to the anti-Communist lawmaker as a Christmas gift.

In Colombia, Communist guerrillas commanded by Manuel Marulanda Velez, alias "Sure Shot," have resorted to open warfare. Terrorist bands roam the countryside, looting and killing, posing a serious threat to the Colombian government.

Cuban agents have been sent into Haiti to help overthrow the despotic regime of "Papa Doc" Duvalier. The Cuban radio transmits (in French) instructions in guerrilla warfare to pro-Communist Haitian rebels. A recent broadcast ended with this cry:

"We must fight for a new and better Haiti, without Duvalier and without an imperialist embassy. Let us unite for our second national liberation under one slogan: Fatherland or Death."

The authoritative Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba recently reported new details on Castro's training camps for saboteurs and guerrilla agents. The committee said:

**"At least 40 training and political agitation centers for guerrillas are operating in Cuba today. Their capacity is between 10,000 and 15,000 trainees. The number of trainees which can be turned out in one year through these establishments is set between 25,000 and 30,000."**

Training begins with a "Hate America" campaign. Mess halls, study halls and barracks carry slogans of hate against U.S. "imperialism." Former guerrilla chieftain Ernesto "Che" Guevara is widely quoted as having said: "Hate is our weapon. It forms the basis of our success." Also quoted is Lenin:

"We must hate—hatred is the basis of communism."

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**89th A DISASTER**—Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) says the 89th Congress must be regarded by conservatives as a "disaster" and by liberals and Socialists as a crowning success. "The lives of coming generations have been altered by legislation approved during this Congress," he says.

# Facing the Facts on Automation

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

One of the West Coast's more excruciating manifestations of galloping liberalism is a TV personality called Louis Lomax. Every Sunday night Mr. Lomax muddies up Los Angeles and its environs with what the trade calls a "talk" show. Those non-lefties silly enough to dignify the Lomax show by appearing on it as unpaid whipping boys serve to give him the cover of impartiality—though only in the selection of his guests.

For Mr. Lomax shamelessly flogs all who hold views even mildly at variance to those of California's feverish left wing. His method is to ask questions in an indignantly high pitch, and then cut off the answer by trip-hammer repetitions of the same or similar queries. I watched this performance when he had on his program the newly elected president of the California Young Republicans, earnest but unprepared to do battle with such a one as Mr. Lomax.

**In the course of this rather deplorable contest, Mr. Lomax pushed loud cries of anguish over what automation was doing to the nation and asserted that it created unemployment. Since the Young Republican spokesman defended the high productivity that automation brings, Mr. Lomax then charged him with being heartless and implied that no one but a reactionary beast out to grind the poor into the dirt would be anything but a machine smasher.**

It is not necessary to argue Mr. Lomax's abounding ignorance in this and allied matters. His victim, however, failed to

Liberal Louis Lomax has television interview show in Los Angeles.

make the point that even the most liberal of economists do not share his rather primitive view of the industrial process. Nor was it pointed out that historically, the increase in productivity which mechanization and automation bring about raises the level of wages and decreases unemployment.

Because Mr. Lomax may have once read a book, it is possible that he will read another one. It is called *The Automation Hysteria* and he can buy it from the Machinery and Allied Products Institute in Washington, D.C., for $6. Its author is George Terborgh, who made the liberal economists of some years past look silly. They had insisted that he was a fool for saying that our economy had not reached its full growth but would expand—as indeed it has in the present decade to a degree that only Mr. Terborgh argued was possible.

Automation, Mr. Terborgh demonstrates, is a bogey set loose on the American people for purely political purposes. To begin with, only a very small percentage of industrial and business processes can be automated or can receive its latest scare-form, cybernation. The computers which displace workers—and only temporarily—are economically justifiable only in the great mass-producing industries.

John Diebold, who invented the word automation, has shown that 80 per cent of American industry produces "in lots of 25 or fewer individual pieces." To computerize them would put these small producers out of business, since it would drive unit cost up—and automation must do precisely the opposite to be of value. But there is another factor. The nature of the American economy has shifted today so that only 25 per cent of the labor force is employed in manufacturing. Agriculture, for a variety of reasons, is not suited to automation, as the fruit growers who require Mexican braceros to do their picking ruefully know.

The biggest users of labor—and the percentage increases with each passing year—are the service industries: the repairmen, plumbers, electricians, carpenters, cab drivers, sales people and you name it. Fortunately for those in my profession, no one has yet been able to invent a computerized newspaper reporter, TV commentator, or novelist.

**Mr. Lomax and those of his bent who cry havoc over automation might well ponder a fact determined by academic economists—namely, that the highest rate of unemployment is in industries which are the most highly organized and whose unions have exacted the highest wages from management. This would make the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions the heartless crew—a subject to which I will return in another stanza of my writings.**

I offer these facts to Mr. Lomax as a Christmas gift in the hope that he will ponder them and change his ways. Others are welcome to them, particularly those of my readers in southern California who have long since given up suffering the Lomax animadversions gladly.

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**ONE GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL** to another: "Had the most frightening dream last night—we rang them on the Hot Line and got a busy signal."


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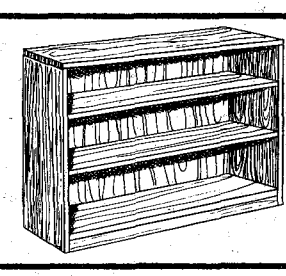

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# The Pitfalls of Federal Aid to Education

***A noted educator explains the false premises upon which federal aid to education is based, and offers some constructive alternatives.***

By DR. JOHN HOWARD

Why should corporate officers who have plenty of problems of their own be importuned to do everything in their power to prevent the further intrusion of the federal government into education by any additional programs of federal grants? Most people who were originally concerned about this matter have given it up as a lost cause and the educational institutions, according to their own spokesmen, seem to be getting along pretty well despite the inevitable problems that derive from dealing with the central bureaucracy.

Well, first there is the question of dollar costs. You have to pay your tax share of all the operating costs and salaries of the administrators, clerks, supervisors, auditors and field agents who operate the countless federal programs which aid education. This is not news to you and needs no elaboration.

Second, you, by your taxes, are subsidizing your competition in the employment of personnel for scientific research. The federal agencies now have so many and such generous grants to award through the universities that there is an almost unlimited opportunity for chemists, physicists, mathematicians and other highly trained specialists to make a comfortable living conducting research on the university campus, and many will prefer the academic scene to the market place.

Third, you may have noted the report of the astonishingly low percentage of last year's Ivy League graduates who desired careers in business and industry. The diminishing enthusiasm of college students for positions in business is a nationwide phenomenon and an omen of future executive shortage to which all alert businessmen ought to devote some hard thought.

## Attitude Changes

The analysis of the reasons for that trend is another speech, but part of the change in student vocational choice is attributable to the prevalence and the influence of the national government on the college campus.

Fourth, the colleges and universities are, I would suppose, the greatest source of enthusiasm for the welfare state, and each new program of federal grants for education further commits them to that position. You will know just how much Medicare will cost your firm. Have you any idea how much the 35-hour week will cost? Or the other programs of benefits proposed by the Administration?

**I assume you recognize the growing impotence of those corporations which are large government contractors in fighting new welfare state legislation in Washington. How can some reasonable limit be set on the amount and the pace of increase in the national subsidy of everything? One critical step toward this goal must be the prevention of the complete federal domination of education.**

One or more of these reasons may have sufficient significance for you to consider responding to this call for help, but these have been offered only as some additional "for instances."

By far the most important claim I have to make on your sympathy and assistance is the maintenance of a strong and creative educational system in this country, for if higher education becomes heavily federalized and centralized and as a consequence, rigid and uniform and captive, which I honestly believe will be the ultimate results of the present type of federal aid, then the rest of the nation will also become rigid and uniform and captive.

The colleges provide a 20 or 25-year advance mirror of what society will be, for they mold the attitudes of the people who provide the future leadership of all endeavors. The health and dynamism and diversity of the colleges need to be the concern of everyone who cares about the future of his family, his company or the nation.

For openers on the basic problem, here is an interesting quotation:

"The first purpose of this document is to warn the American people of an insidious and ominous trend in the control and management of education in the United States. Its second purpose is to propose policies and procedures by which citizens may resist and reverse this dangerous trend.

"For more than a quarter of a century and especially during the last decade, education in the United States, like a ship caught in a powerful tide, has drifted ever further into the dangerous waters of federal control and domination.

"This drift has continued at an accelerated rate. . . . Present signs indicate that unless it is sharply checked by an alert citizenry, it will continue even more rapidly. . . .

**"It is the deliberate and reasoned judgment of the two educational commissions who join in the appeal which this document makes to the people of the United States that the trend toward the federalizing of education is one of the most dangerous on the current scene."**

Strange as it seems, this declaration of war against federal aid to education was issued jointly by the National Education Association and the American Council on Education. The date was March 1945. These two giant organizations were so alarmed at the prospect of any substantial federal invasion of education that they joined forces and co-sponsored this attack.

It was effective, too, for several years later, when President Truman pressed hard for a massive federal aid program, that program was rejected by Congress and the list of educators who led the opposition included scores of the most distinguished college and university presidents of the country. Typical of their statements is one by Dr. Lawrence Gould, who was then president of Carleton College.

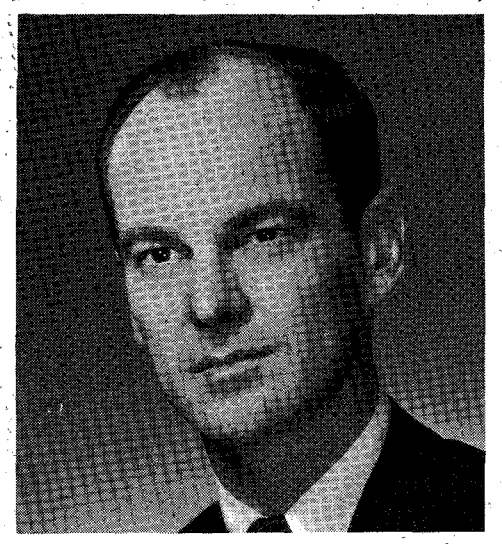
## Threat More Serious

"I miss no opportunity to reiterate my opposition to federal aid to education. As a matter of fact, the more I talk about it and the more I think about it, the more serious does that threat become. It is almost stupefying that intelligent people cannot see what may happen if we continue to promote movements in that direction."

Carleton's President Gould and the other college presidents who were speaking in this vein, were not kooky reactionaries. They were the academic statesmen of the period.

So it was in 1945 and 1949.

Now let us shift our attention. What do you suppose this is that I hold in my hand? A telephone directory for a great metropolis? Or a catalogue for a giant mail order house? No, indeed! It is an 824-page manual describing briefly the programs affecting higher education which are conducted by 135 different offices, bureaus, foundations,



**Dr. John Howard, president of Rockford College since 1960, is a graduate of Princeton University and Northwestern, where he earned his masters and doctorate. He had a distinguished record in World War II and was twice decorated with the Silver Star and Purple Heart.**

administrations, authorities and agencies of the federal government and by 20 international agencies in which our government participates.

Needless to say, many of these 155 government units support a variety of activities at our colleges and universities. The federal programs in education are so numerous and so pervasive that it requires a catalogue like this just to know what they are.

## False Propositions

The war begun by the NEA and the American Council has gone very badly in the last decade. These two organizations have joined the opposition, and are now pressing with just as much vigor and a great many more troops the campaign to increase the federal role in education which they once so earnestly resisted.

The surrender of many partisans is undeniable, but the process has been so gradual and subtle that few remember which side they started on.

How did it happen? How could so many educators and so many common citizens become neutral, if not friendly, to a cause they once rejected with determination? It is a question worthy of some piercing thought, for it typifies a great many changes that have occurred in the same period.

**The process is a very simple one, used by politicians, demagogues and charlatans throughout history. It is a matter of fixing upon a set of false propositions and repeating them so emphatically so many times in so many places that eventually they are accepted as truth. Perhaps you remember the child's poem in which the old man states "I've said it again! What I tell you three times is true."**

The false propositions that have been used to hoodwink the public on this issue are as follows:

1. Higher education is an entity which has needs that can be identified and met.

2. The national interest demands that vast programs of federal grants be established to serve higher education.

3. Federal aid does not bring federal control.

4. There is no means other than federal grants to make available the funds needed by colleges and universities.

Let us consider each of these. Higher education is a very convenient collective noun used to identify all the colleges and universities of the country or all the educational activities that are provided on all their campuses.

So far, so good, but you get into trouble when you try to characterize higher education and specify its nature or its needs. It just can't be done. Every one of our 2,000 colleges is wholly different from every other in its program, its faculty, its student clientele, its purposes, its philosophy, its facilites, laboratories, libraries in its needs. Even the Ivy League universities are markedly different from each other. And their alumni and their professors will be the first to tell you so. To group Dartmouth with a public junior college five times its size and a state teachers college of a few hundred students is to group heterogeneously, to say the least.

Repeatedly key congressional leaders and ranking officers of the government have begged, urged or commanded colleges and universities to agree on their needs so that appropriate legislation could be drafted and enacted. The astonishing thing is that these governmental would-be helpers perceive so little about what they would help that they don't realize the question is foolish. The diversity of American colleges and universities is one of their foremost characteristics and it is one of their most precious and productive and necessary characteristics.

**The plain fact is that no programs of federal grants can be enacted which will serve all colleges equally well or even with any reasonable degree of fairness. Under the present system the rich and powerful are getting richer and more powerful and, for the most part, intend to keep it that way. The needs of higher education cannot be met equitably with a vast network of federal grants.**

Fallacy number two: The national interest requires federal aid to education. We can be brief with this one. The national interest bit is a favorite claim for anyone at the federal level to apply to whatever he wants to do. In time of war or emergency this particular phrase rings louder in our ears and registers more quickly in the brain cells. One little globe named Sputnik was used to fasten the national interest label on the federal aid to education package so dramatically that we have all but forgotten the warning labels that used to mark that package in 1945 and 1949.

The third fallacy is the most outrageous of all, for it is so patently self-contradictory; federal aid does not mean federal control. That is stark nonsense. Every single program of grants has to stipulate either in the legislation or through a policy board the terms for deciding who gets how much to do what under what circumstances. This isn't control? Of course it is, and it is only the mild beginning of the control.

One example: Under certain programs of the National Defense Education Act the teachers who attend an institute have their tuition paid and they also

*Continued on next page*



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receive an additional federal stipend for themselves and for each of their dependents; that is, if they are public school teachers. Private and parochial school teachers do not rate the stipend.

There is not a reputable college in the country that would be a party to such a double standard in a program of its own determination. If such a stipulation were imposed by the trustees, the college would blow sky high. Nevertheless, many honorable colleges and universities have thus discriminated against private and parochial teachers because they were required to by the federal government. This isn't control?

It should be observed that a great part of the control exerted by federal aid is what might be called carrot control, in contrast to the above illustration of stick control. Carrot control is accomplished by coaxing a college or a department or a professor into doing something that would otherwise not be done by dangling before the nose such an attractive offer that it just cannot be passed up.

**Under a program started by Dr. Howard when he came to Rockford in 1960, the college has already constructed 16 new buildings with $7 million raised solely from private sources. Not a penny of federal aid has been used.**

This may appear innocuous until we remember that when the carrot project is undertaken something else may have to be set aside. One metropolitan university decided to extend its offerings to include the Ph.D. degree. The first eight programs it inaugurated were all in science and all in response to opportunities for federal subsidy. It is highly unlikely that humanities and social sciences would have been left out without the influence of the federal carrot.

**Perhaps the most dangerous control inherent in federal grants is the loss of political freedom. A number of our most distinguished universities receive more than 40 per cent of their operating budgets from federal sources. To be sure, the giant portion of those funds is spent for research, but that is beside the point, for the withdrawal of those research contracts would have devastating effects upon the university.**

Suppose you are the president of a university which receives a large share of its budget from Washington. Would you disagree publicly and forcefully with President Johnson on any of his cherished projects? Suppose that the chairman of the political science department at this university over which you preside honestly arrived at the conclusion by scholarly methods that the "Great Society" not only won't work but is destructive to the best interests of the nation, and let us say he wrote a book and then appeared on a number of national television shows to make known his findings? What position does that put your university in?

Remember that all those grants are given out under the ultimate jurisdiction of politically appointed Cabinet members. The academic community is losing its freedom to dissent on pet projects of any federal administration, Democratic or Republican.

Proposition four, you remember, is that there is no financial source other than federal grants which will enable the colleges and universities to keep pace with the demands upon them. The demands are great, for the double requirement of providing more knowledge to more students in an increasingly complex society is costly indeed.

Returning to the contrast between an earlier generation of college executives and the present one, it should be observed that, when the need for educational funds is so great, the present college heads might have to apply remedies avoided by their predecessors if there were no better way to obtain the funds. As a consequence, proposition number four has probably been the most effective of all the weapons used to bring about the massive federal intervention in higher education. It, however, is no more valid than any of the others. Let me illustrate.

## Tax Credits

Bills have been introduced into Congress embodying a proposal submitted in testimony more than a year ago which would make available to colleges and universities just as much money as Congress wishes to provide to them without involving any of the centralized control, the power, the bureaucracy and the patronage that are inherent in federal aid as it has been developed.

**The process is a magnificently simple one. It is a tax credit for gifts. Every individual taxpayer would be permitted to give to the college of his choice $100 of what he owes the federal government in income tax, sending the balance to the director of Internal Revenue.**

Thus, if you owed a net tax of $800 you could give $100 to New York University, Notre Dame, Wellesley, a public junior college or any other bona fide collegiate institution and send only $700 to Washington.

It should be clearly understood that there is no suggestion here to alter or eliminate the tax deductions now permitted, nor to discontinue existing programs of federal grants for education. These federal programs have been so completely woven into the fabric of American education that it would cause the most serious disruptions to terminate them.

The proposal suggests only that we add no new programs of educational grants, directing any desire by Congress to provide further assistance to education into the channel of tax credits.

The difference between a tax deduction and a tax credit is an exceedingly important one. When a person takes a tax deduction for his gift, he is paying part of the gift out of his own pocket and part of it out of money that he would otherwise pay to the government, the two portions varying according to the level of his income.

## Needs Differ

In the case of the tax credit, the entire amount of his gift would come from money that he would otherwise pay in taxes. The tax credit is a technique for diverting funds directly from the taxable source to some government-approved purpose or recipient without any governmental processing, administration or control.

The tax credit has already been established as an instrument for carrying out government policy. One federal tax credit now in operation, as you know, encourages industry to modernize by cancelling a portion of corporate income taxes to offset investments in the purchase of equipment. Many suggestions have been made for other tax credits. Among them was the late President Kennedy's proposal that tax credits might be the best method for providing financial support to political parties.

There are many advantages to a tax credit for gifts to educational institutions. Each college could spend what it receives in tax-credit gifts for whatever it needs most, and remember that each college's needs differ from the needs of every other. The church-state issue is wholly avoided and it has rightly been the focus for debate on most education bills. There is a necessary flexibility built into the measure.

**Congress can provide more or less money to the colleges by raising or lowering the $100 ceiling according to how much of its revenues it judged advisable to divert to education. No new bureaus or offices or field agencies need to be created. The college automatically sends the donor its official receipt for a gift and this can be affixed to the tax return.**

Many taxpayers, having no college affiliation, would tend to make their donations to the nearest college to keep the money in the local economy, with the result that educational funds would be concentrated where the population is.

Finally, each college would have to earn its gifts on the basis of the soundness and effectiveness of its educational program. How much saner and healthier this would be than the lobbying and politicking that is becoming increasingly necessary to get one's request for federal grants approved ahead of other colleges.

The concept of a tax credit for gifts has been proposed before hundreds of college executives, educational experts, members of Congress and many audiences of the general citizenry. So far nobody has found any fault with it except that it eliminates any federal control over the expenditure of money. *That's a fault!*

When several of us presented this plan to Dr. Keppel, the U.S. commissioner of education, he responded that it would be wholly unacceptable because, "We could not accomplish our social objectives." Even if those social objectives should include integration and a number of other things that most of the citizens would applaud, is it right to distort and restrict education so that they can be accomplished? Or shouldn't we find other means to accomplish those objectives?

The tax credit program is a specific illustration of the falsehood of proposition number 4 that federal grants constitute the only method of providing to educational institutions the funds they need.

The grievous cost to the federal subsidy of education includes an expensive, ever-burgeoning federal bureaucracy which makes more and more of the decisions which ought to be made by the educational institutions themselves. It includes a loss of political freedom on the part of the whole academic community which in all nations has been a necessary fountain of new thoughts, dissent and balance.

**It includes a grinding and unwholesome necessity for lobbying and politicking by high-ranking officers of the universities. It includes an unending flow of college graduates who, having spent four years in an environment where the federal government is providing students with loans and specially created jobs, the faculty with research and travel grants, the campus with buildings, the library with books, the laboratories with equipment, quite naturally look to mother government to solve everyone's problems outside the campus too.**

The tax credit for gifts is not a panacea. It is simply a holding action, but it is a desperately needed antidote to the poison of federal involvement.

The welfare state and free enterprise are in direct conflict with each other. The welfare state is based on the fundamental concept of something for nothing and the citizen's right to have whatever enough people think they want.

On the other hand, the market economy is based on the idea of something for something and requires that people make choices about which wants they can meet according to their resources. The maintenance of our educational system as a complex of competitive and autonomous institutions is allied to the maintenance of competitive business enterprise.

The freedom of education, as of industry, is being rapidly curtailed and in education, at least, we may soon pass the point of no return. We need your help and you need ours in preserving freedom for both of us.

If the central government is to decide what crops are to be grown and therefore what farm implements to be manufactured, what the terms of labor contracts shall be, the rates of interest on borrowed money, the cost of the product, how much capital can be invested in foreign markets and so forth—and if the central government is to decide which academic subjects shall be expanded by crash programs, and who gets scholarships, and how much different groups of students will get by way of stipend—then I'll be darned if I know what I was fighting for in Germany and Czechoslovakia 20 years ago.

The crazy thing is I thought we were fighting against the spread of tyranny, against authoritarian government that told the people how to carry on their businesses and how to run their lives and threatened them and used coercion and retaliation and silenced the dissenters. I thought we were fighting for freedom. Well, we have to fight for it again. It's a different kind of fight, to be sure, but it's a real one and it will take a lot of determined troops. I hope some of you will enlist.


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*Has U.S. 'Lost the Peace'?*

# Dominican Reds Still a Problem

From the San Diego *Union*

Last April, just two days after U.S. Marines landed in the Dominican Republic, President Johnson said: "There are signs that people trained outside the . . . republic are seeking to gain control."

Within the following several days, his quotations included:

"The American nations cannot, must not and will not permit the establishment of another Communist government in the Western Hemisphere.

**"This was the unanimous view of all the American nations when in January 1962 they declared. . . 'The principles of communism are incompatible with the principles of the inter-American system.'**

"Our goal in the Dominican Republic is the goal which has been expressed again and again in the treaties and agreements which make up the fabric of the inter-American system. It is that the people of that country must be permitted to freely choose the party of political democracy, social justice and economic progress. . . . We hope to see a government freely chosen by the will of all the people."

And it was just a few days later that U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker commented: "It is quite obvious . . . that there is today no effective national government in the Dominican Republic. . . there are contending forces."

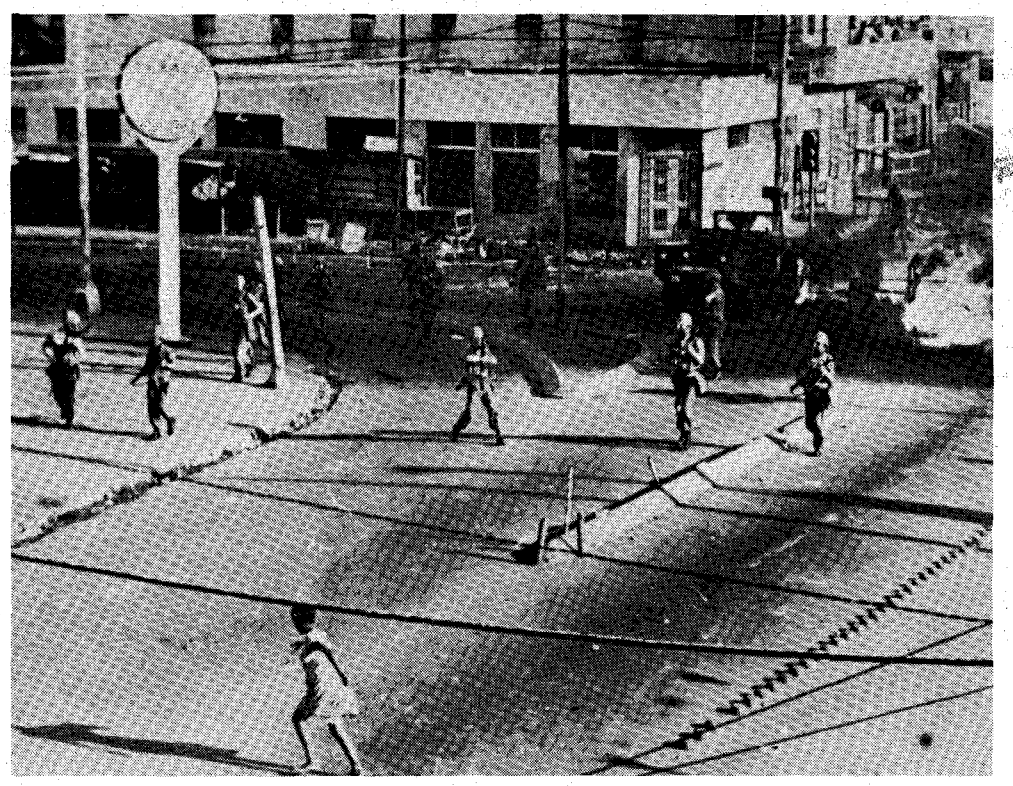
The goals of the hemisphere have not changed since last April, when the United States properly and decisively acted to save lives and prevent formation of another Communist stronghold in our hemisphere.

It is ominous, however, that all of the dangers to those goals, implicit in the official statements quoted here, could be made today—eight months later.

Rioting has erupted with renewed violence, leading to deaths, disruption of the wobbly economy and political instability. Although nearly 8,000 Organization of American States troops are on hand, their role in keeping law and order is relegated to a secondary position. About 1,400 U.S. Marines are currently poised in the Caribbean, ready to move in if needed in a sequel to the April 28 landing.

Again the United States has taken a positive and proper military action in the defense of democracy in our hemisphere. We "won" the incipient "war." Since that time, however, U.S. diplomacy in the republic has been indecisive and floundering. Again we have lost the "peace" on the policy tables.

**Unless the United States shows some positive action to restore and keep the peace in the Dominican Republic the crisis again may pass the boiling point. We will have swung the full circle to April 28 and military action on a vast scale again will be necessary.**



U.S. troops patrol Santo Domingo streets.

It is a serious problem requiring immediate attention because the leadership and prestige of the United States in the entire hemisphere, if not in the world, is at stake.

How can we convince anyone that we stand as the major roadblock to aggressions of communism anywhere in the world if we cannot take care of the disaster area in our own back yard?

# How Left-Wing Extremists Help Shape U.S. Policies

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

With so much attention focused upon the right-wing variety, the left-wing extremist has enjoyed almost complete immunity from criticism. Nevertheless, his work has gone steadily forward.

It is the left-wing extremist who automatically assumes that a U.S. position in international affairs is automatically imperialist and automatically wrong. Unfortunately, he exerts a telling effect upon U.S. policy.

In the war in Viet Nam, civilians are often forced to hide with the Viet Cong in highly developed underground fortifications woven into the earth through a maze of tunnels. U.S. Marines must clear these fortifications of Viet Cong, but for a long time were denied the chance to use harmless tear gas, as any police force does.

**Instead, they were forced to risk their own lives to toss grenades and spray small arms fire which killed both Viet Cong and innocent civilians. This unnecessary loss of life was the direct result of outcries by U.S. extremists who protested the use of "gas" in Viet Nam.**

When the Republic of Panama burned U.S. flags and renounced its treaty with the United States, it was our own extremists who assumed U.S. blame. They have agitated steadily and have apparently now achieved a concession to Panama.

This year the House passed a resolution restating the terms of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. This treaty, signed originally by most Latin American countries, restated the intention of the American republics to use armed force to protect any nation from domination by international communism.

Immediately, extremists in our own country labeled it as an expression favoring the principle of "unilateral military intervention." They fanned resentment in the South American press and called it "unwarranted interference" by the U.S. Congress. They claimed such matters were outside the jurisdiction and competence of the House of Representatives, and that the resolution served no purpose in the absence of a specific crisis.

**These persons, who are the first to plead for greater foreign aid and a larger Alliance for Progress, neglected to mention that it is the House of Representatives which must initiate authorization and the appropriation of funds which make the "alliance" possible. They also neglected to mention there is a continuing crisis from subversives trained in Cuba who agitate for communism over all Latin America.**

From all reports to which I have access concerning Latin America, I find no country has been offended to the point where it will refuse Alliance for Progress funds. Nor did the House-passed resolution dampen the ardor with which most South American countries pleaded for lucrative preferential U.S. sugar quotas a few weeks ago.

In the final analysis there is much doubt that the resolution did harm relations with our friends to the south. Were it not for the U.S. extremist it might not have been noticed.

□ □ □

**OFFICE OF OPPORTUNITY**—Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa) notes that one of every 19 employes in Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity makes more than $10,000 a year. "Perhaps they ought to rename the outfit the Office of Economic Opportunists," he suggests.

# Salaries and Expense Allowances Of Top U.S. Labor Union Leaders

From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

We can remember when a labor union official was more than pleased to receive as salary the equivalent amount received by a member of his labor union as wages.

Old-time labor union leaders thought a salary of $75 to $100 a week was a munificent income. How times and incomes have changed.

Today's labor union leaders' salaries compare very favorably with corporation executives.

Here are listed the yearly salaries and expense allowances received by top national officers of major U.S. labor unions:

| | Salary | Expense Allowance |
|---|---|---|
| George Meany, president, AFL-CIO | $70,000 | $ 4,000 |
| Jacob Potofsky, Amalgamated Clothing Workers | 24,000 | 15,000 |
| David Sullivan, Building Service Employees | 35,000 | 3,000 |
| Russell Berg, Boilermakers | 25,000 | 5,000 |
| John Murphy, Bricklayers and Plasterers | 35,000 | 12,000 |
| Maurice Hutcheson, Carpenters | 37,000 | 5,000 |
| Joseph Beirne, Communications Workers | 24,500 | 3,000 |
| Joseph Moreschi, Hod Carriers | 50,000 | 6,000 |
| Paul Jennings, International Union Electrical Workers | 25,500 | 3,000 |
| David Dubinsky, Ladies Garment Workers | 28,000 | 10,000 |
| Albert Hayes, Machinists | 25,000 | 3,000 |
| W. A. Boyle, Mine Workers | 50,000 | 9,000 |
| Herman Kenin, Musicians | 35,000 | 12,000 |
| O. A. Knight, Oil and Chemical Workers | 16,000 | 2,000 |
| H. P. Wharton, Operating Engineers | 55,000 | 19,000 |
| P. T. Schoeman, Plumbers and Pipe Fitters | 30,000 | 17,000 |
| George Harrison, Railway Clerks | 60,000 | 3,500 |
| J. A. Suffridge, Retail Clerks | 50,000 | 8,500 |
| I. W. Abel, Steelworkers | 50,000 | 25,000 |
| James Hoffa, Teamsters | 75,000 | 16,000 |
| Richard Walsh, Stage Employes | 27,000 | 8,000 |
| Michael Quill, Transport Workers | 22,000 | 7,000 |
| William Pollock, Textile Workers | 19,000 | 13,000 |
| Walter Reuther, United Auto Workers | 27,000 | 5,000 |

Many regional, state and local labor union leaders get comparable salaries and expense allowances.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# Mikhail Sholokhov and the Soviet Cultural Charade

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

This columnist wrote recently of the great Soviet economic charade. We're witnessing a Soviet cultural charade as well and, alas, the Swedish Academy gave it a mysterious boost by awarding the Nobel Prize for literature to Mikhail A. Sholokhov.

For charade it surely is. Sholokhov and his most famous book are part and parcel of it, and some poking around behind the scenes since the award was announced makes you wonder what's cooking in Stockholm.

Sholokhov's reputation rests chiefly on a novel, *And Quiet Flows the Don.* But its strange career finds it published in several parts, the first far back in 1928 and the last in 1940. Then Sholokhov politically revised it in 1953.

The committee certainly went an amazingly long way back, unprecedented in its previous awards, to honor Sholokhov's outstanding work.

Now read the two versions and see what you find. Originally *And Quiet Flows the Don* was a story of a courageous Cossack who refused to accept the Soviet system. He was the hero. The Communist party was the devil.

**Sholokhov's 1953 revision unblushingly reversed his earlier version. He rewrote it into the achievements of the Communist party and downgraded the Cossack to the edge of villainy.**

And thereby hangs the tale:

The Kremlin condemned the Swedish Academy for honoring Boris A. Pasternak and his magnificent *Dr. Zhivago*

Mikhail Sholokhov, author of And Quiet Flows the Don.

in 1958 and forced Pasternak to renounce the Nobel Prize. He was expelled at the same time from the Russian Authors Association.

On the other hand, Soviet leaders consistently advanced Sholokhov as a Nobel candidate to overcome a touchy fact in their cultural hoax which had galled them bitterly from the beginning.

Until Boris Pasternak's selection not a single writer under the Soviet regime had been given the Nobel honor for literature. The only previous Russian winner in the category was Ivan Bunin (1933) who fled his homeland and wrote from abroad in utter contempt for the Kremlin hierarchy.

After Sholokhov suitably revised his 1928 novel in 1953 the Kremlin communication belt pushed Sholokhov in the intellectual circles of the world. Nikita Khrushchev even sent him to Stockholm in 1958 where the Soviet embassy boldly lobbied for him in the Swedish Academy. But the prize went to the brave Pasternak just the same.

Then, to offset Pasternak's world acclaim, Khrushchev visited Sholokhov's home village of Veshenskaya in September 1959, pumped further praise of Sholokhov into the Soviet press and invited him on a trip to the United States.

How come the Swedish Academy goes back now and picks up conformer Sholokhov, who symbolizes the entire Soviet cultural hoax in literature and history at its worst?

In the Marxist dictionary "to clarify" means "to befuddle," "to defend" means "to attack," "freedom-loving peoples" means "subjugated peoples," "fair" means "foul" and "the truth" means revisionism and the Big Lie.

**The cult of revisionism began with Nikolai Lenin himself in Sochineniya, his collected works. Example: His doctored Soviet history claims that when France stood desperately on the Marne in 1914 the French government begged Moscow to throw all Russian guard divisions into East Prussia, without any preparation or heavy artillery. Russia performed this sacrifice, the Germans drew back, and thus the Russians saved Paris!**

Although history is the story of innumerable biographies (Disraeli said, "Biography is a nation's life without theory"), scores of Soviet leaders who make the nation's history, like Stalin, are now in the limbo of the unknown.

Russia was saved by the Stalingrad victory in World War II, but the people are not allowed even this memory. Officially, it's now the "Battle of the Volga."

The Ukrainian nationalist patriots who abhorred the Red regime were led by a fearless peasant named Kriva. His *nom de guerre* was Bendera, and they called themselves Benderovtsi. It was one of Bendera's bands that killed Soviet Gen. Valutin, the hero of Stalingrad. But both the Benderovtsi and Valutin vanish as the sycophants rewrite Soviet history exactly as Sholokhov rewrote his novel.

Every day in the Soviet Union it is possible for the people to learn more and more about less and less, until finally they will know everything about nothing.

Distinguished Swedish prize donor Dr. Alfred Bernhard Nobel must be revolving in his grave.

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**BARRY GOLDWATER** has sharply rebuked the practitioners of civil disobedience. "I dare say that American conservatives object to 80 per cent of the new laws passed by President Johnson's rubber-stamp Congress," he said recently. "But I have yet to hear of any intent to pick and choose among those laws, to decide which ones they will obey, and which ones they will disobey."


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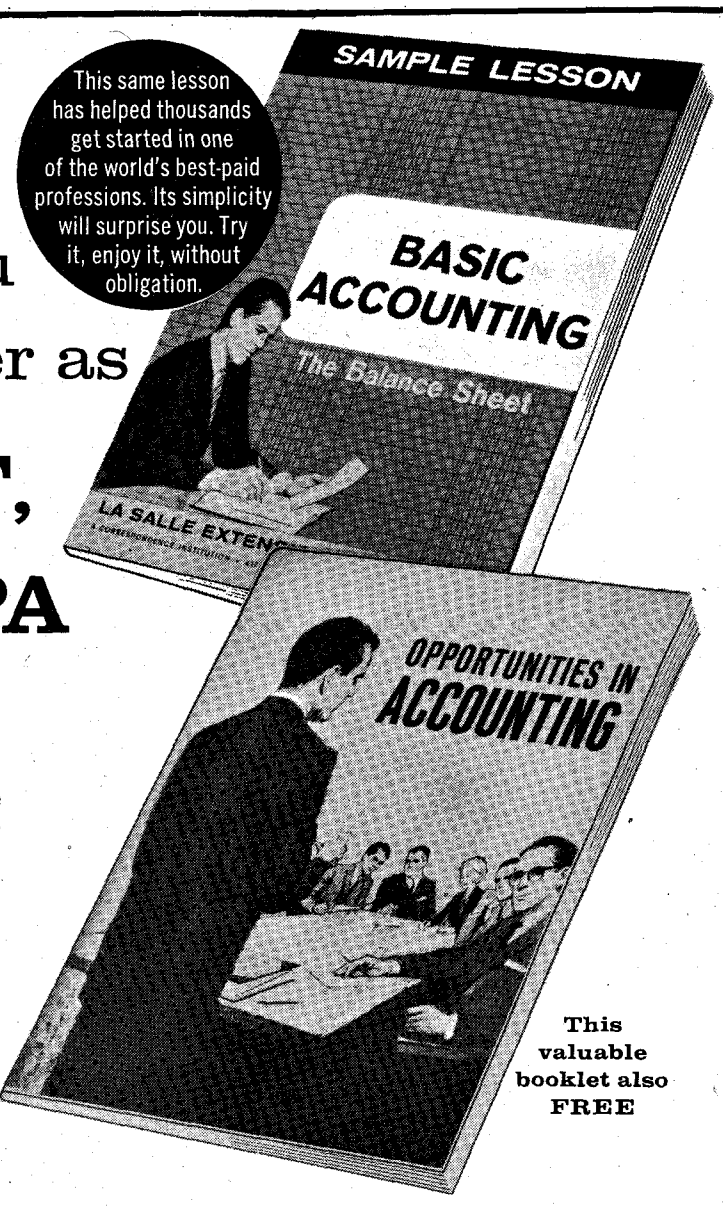


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## The Third Horseman

# Thanks to Socialism, Famine Again Stalks the Earth

Reprinted with permission from Barron's *National Business and Financial Weekly*, Dec. 20, 1965

Charles B. Shuman, whom *Time* magazine recently described as "the man who wants the government to get off the farm," also likes to call a spade a spade.

At a meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation (which he heads) some two years ago, down-to-earth Charlie Shuman charged that Washington seems determined "to either rule or ruin" U.S. agriculture. Last year he stirred his audience by comparing federal price supports to dope-peddling. "Once on the habit, the victim . . . will do most anything to get his next fix, his next check. The pushers, in this case the government bureaucrats and committees, constantly work to get more farmers hooked. . . ."

In the realm of uncommon candor, his recent speech before the federation's annual convention, which addressed itself to an issue as old as Joseph in Egypt, broke fresh ground. "The world does not need to starve," flatly stated the freedom fighter of farming, "if the underdeveloped areas can be induced to accept the incentive method of capital formation—competitive capitalism." Like a horse and carriage, "socialism and hunger" inevitably go together.

In an era which rarely links economic cause and effect, such frank observations are as welcome as rain after a long dry spell. What's more, they happen to be just as timely. For in recent months, even as more than a million members of the Farm Bureau Federation were helping to harvest the biggest crop in U.S. history, hunger—in the Soviet Union, Communist China and, most unhappily, in Socialist India—again is stalking the earth.

To judge by recent on-the-scene accounts, famine, the third horseman of the Apocalypse, threatens to ride roughshod over the homeland of Ghandi, Nehru and their hapless successor, Lal Bahadur Shastri.

In the latest tragedy, malign nature surely has played a part. India's plight, say its apologists, basically stems from the failure of the rain-bearing, life-giving monsoon. However, the drought alone is not to blame.

**Since gaining independence in 1947, New Delhi has pursued ruinous economic and social policies which have victimized agriculture and sacrificed the well-being of the people to the greater glory of the state. Nearly two decades of Socialist planning, compounded by the folly of a futile war, have brought India to a pretty pass. Hence feeding the hungry, as Washington is desperately trying to do, will not suffice. In the long-run interests of giver and recipient alike, the United States must start planting the seeds of economic freedom.**

Regardless of climate and soil, socialism throughout the world has yielded bitter fruit. Since 1961, when the Soviet Union suffered the first of a series of "non-recurring" crop failures, wheat shipments from West to East have increased from 165 million bushels to 750 million. In the crop year 1963-64, wheat and flour from Argentina, Australia, Canada and the United States fed nearly one comrade in seven. Similarly, despite massive grain purchases from the West, Mao's agrarian reformers have brought Red China to the brink of starvation. Much of Eastern Europe, once a granary in its own right, lives off U.S. surpluses, while the fertile farmlands of Algeria, which produced so bountifully for the hard-working colons, have turned barren.

Now the blight has spread to India. Perennially dependent on the outside world to feed its population, the hapless country this year faces a well-nigh unbridgeable gap between demand and supply. Although notoriously ineffective, rationing has been decreed for major cities. Starvation already has claimed its first victims.

Widely blamed on the vagaries of nature, today's famine owes at least as much to the mistakes of man. During the past half-decade, while the Indian population has multiplied, food production has risen scarcely at all. To keep body and soul together, the country even in an ordinary year has had to import six million tons of grain, nearly 10 per cent of its total food supply (and roughly 20 per cent of the U.S. wheat crop). This year its deficit may run as high as 15 million.

**Prior to the drought, a team of economists from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, after an on-the-scene survey, found that the outlook for self-sufficiency was grim. If present trends of population growth and farm output persist, concluded the USDA experts, India by 1970 will require fully one-half the U.S. wheat crop to feed its teeming masses.**

Unlike the Russian or Chinese peasant, the Indian farmer has not been forced to work in a collective. Nonetheless, he has become in many ways a victim of the state.

The planners, for example, have preempted the manufacture of fertilizer for the so-called public sector; in consequence, it remains expensive and scarce. According to the USDA, India uses less than three pounds of fertilizer per acre, compared to 36 in the United States.

After the fashion of Moscow and Peking, New Delhi has sought to industrialize as rapidly as possible; hence the landscape is dotted with such costly white elephants as steel mills and atomic power plants. Like Socialists everywhere, finally, the Congress party has chosen to finance headlong expansion not out of savings but through the printing press. Thus India today is ravaged by an inflation that has encouraged speculation and hoarding; raised interest rates to prohibitive levels (80 per cent in some rural areas); and otherwise choked off the farmer's incentives to produce.

American Farm Bureau President Charles Shuman likens federal price supports to dope-peddling.

As Charles Shuman so rightly says, what really ails India is the economic, not the physical, climate; socialism, not the drought. The blunt farmer from Mattoon, Ill., is equally forthright as to what should be done. Last week he told his followers:

"Too often our foreign aid programs have been tied to social reform when the critical need was for economic reform. Further extension of food aid by the United States should be conditioned upon the willingness of the recipient country to replace government management of agriculture with a market price system. We should insist that they encourage private capital investment by permitting incentives, by checking inflation and by removing other obstacles to progress."

What the United States preaches abroad, it also should begin to practice at home. Valid at any time, such a stricture, in view of the winds of change now sweeping over the world wheat market, seems especially compelling today. On both a national and global scale, farm programs for decades have taken for granted a perennial surplus of grain. U.S. farm price supports and the International Wheat Agreement rest on this premise.

**What once seemed an immutable fact of life, however, plainly has begun to shift. Owing to Socialist under-production, capitalism's horn of plenty promises to run out. While the U.S. secretary of agriculture prates of endless surplus, and tries in every way to depress the market, the rising price of wheat points to future scarcity. U.S. farm policy has never made much sense. Now it threatens to lose all touch with reality.**

On this score, as on so many others, Charles Shuman deserves the last word. "The farming business can be good if we give farm families the opportunity and the incentive to use their abilities and resources to produce things that our customers want. I am confident that this better day will come soon because farmers are weary of costly government programs based on political and hereditary privilege. They are coming to learn that they have less to fear from progress based on change than from the bureaucratic management and low income that are certain to accompany a legislated status quo.

"Consumers, too, are seeing that farm legislation reaches into their lives to influence the cost and quality of their daily bread. A new day for agriculture cannot be denied."

# The Lively Conservative Corpse

By PAUL HARVEY

Reaction on campus and in Congress!

While the liberal demonstrators get headlines, conservative groups are snowballing their membership.

Young Democrats, by their own figures, have been losing members for four years.

**Young Republicans, since June 1963, have increased their membership from 180,000 to 400,000. Young Republicans now outnumber Young Democrats.**

President Johnson recently advised a young Texas politician to "be a progressive because there will not be a conservative alive 20 years from now."

Yet Americans for Constitutional Action, after surveying recent congressional voting, reports the number of senators and congressmen voting in line with the Constitution's original intent is growing.

And on campus.

Student membership in the peacenik, picketing Students for a Democratic Society numbers less than 5,000. Members of the reddish W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs number fewer than 3,000.

But student membership in the fundamentally conservative Young Americans for Freedom numbers 70,000.

The basically patriotic Intercollegiate Society of Individualists has no formal membership, but 60,000 to 80,000 students request and receive its literature.

I have noticed for some time the increasing acceptance of conservative speakers on campuses where, five years ago, they would have been most unwelcome.

The University of Wisconsin's student newspaper, *The Cardinal,* heretofore way out in left field, is now edited by moderates.

The evolution has no geographical confines, no simple and succinct explanation. Two factors contribute: the young rebel, overdosed with the liberalism of his John Dewey-era professors, now has no other direction in which to rebel except toward the right.

Further, keen young intellects, honed to a razor edge by increasing academic demands, are beginning to discover that two plus two equals four. Having learned the economic facts of life, the "government can take care of everybody" theory becomes a face-value fallacy.

**The most dramatic and incontrovertible evidence of this interesting trendency is the fact that the National Student Association, which once claimed to "speak in behalf of the students of America," has lost half of its affiliate membership in the past four years. This formerly leftist-oriented outfit (always attacking HCUA and defending Castro, etc.) is now recognized on only 300 of our 2,000 campuses.**

The noisemakers—the Young Socialist Alliance, the campus ADA, the Young Peoples' Socialist League—none of these has more than 1,000 members nationally, while disciples of the fundamentally patriotic, conservative YAF and ISI outnumber all those others combined by 20 to 1.

This generation's politicians better prepare for a next generation of voters who are smarter than we were.

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**TSK, TSK, TSK**—Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) has once again called for the admission of Red China to the United Nations and rapped U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic and South Viet Nam. Complained the *Worker*, official organ of the Communist party: "There was almost a complete blackout of his speech by the newspapers."



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Gen. Lane urges the bombing and blockade of Haiphong (above) in order to shorten the Viet Nam war and bring about a U.S. victory.

# Only a Maximum Effort Can Bring U.S. Victory

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

Should the United States bomb the Hanoi-Haiphong industrial complex? Certainly! But do not nurse any illusions that such action will end the war in Viet Nam. Bombing will take an important toll of North Viet Nam's resources, but it is unlikely to be decisive.

If the Communist leaders are as competent and prudent as they appear to be, they have already dispersed their principal war-making industries to the countryside. It is very likely that the heavy shipments of munitions passing through the port of Haiphong in the past year have already been forwarded to dispersed depots and have not been retained in the area.

Nevertheless, the Hanoi-Haiphong line of communications is vitally important today for the chief support of the enemy war effort. Closing the port with mines and a blockade and destroying the depots in the area would cut off the north's principal supply entry point. Blockade running from the China coast would feed some support to North Viet Nam, but the supplies brought in would be severely limited and their cost would be sharply increased.

**War is a bitter business which should be ended as quickly as possible and with minimum cost to our forces. It would be happy indeed if we could win with air power and sea power alone, but the prospects are against it. It is in the coordinated use of all our weapons that we achieve maximum effect and minimum casualties. When we hold back one arm, we increase the costs and reduce the effectiveness of the others.**

It is in combined offensive operations that the United States has overwhelming superiority. With complete control of the air and a capacity to establish bases in enemy territory almost at will, it would be possible to destroy the North Vietnamese army with very small losses to our side. A campaign to liberate Viet Nam north of the 17th parallel and overthrow the Communist dictatorship with a quick thrust at Hanoi, would force the enemy to recall troops now employed offensively in South Viet Nam.

Naval blockade and tactical and strategic bombing would be essential elements of the campaign, with all weapons used for *maximum effect*. Psychological warfare and subversion of the Communist dictatorship by a freedom underground would be part of the strategy. With such aggressive employment of the forces we are now frittering away in defensive action, an early victory could be assured.

We are today squandering men and resources in small unit actions affording every advantage to the enemy. This is a needless waste of the power which the American people have built at great cost and is perhaps a betrayal of freedom.

**The real signficance of total U.S. military capability is that in skillful hands, it would never have to be employed. No hostile power could tolerate such warfare and none would provoke it by aggression. The slaughter in South Viet Nam has persisted for five years only because the United States restrains its power and tolerates a war of attrition which is profitable only to the Communists.**

It is time for President Johnson to start acting as commander-in-chief. If the Joint Chiefs of Staff can't bring him a strategy to win the war in six months with the force now committed to Southeast Asia, he should fire them all and find new leadership. But the indications are that he just isn't listening to the Joint Chiefs of Staff; he is taking his military advice from Secretary McNamara and Secretary Rusk. That is why we are in deep trouble.

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**CONTROLLED SCHOOLS**—Dr. Carl Hansen, superintendent of schools in Washington, D.C., warns that federal planners are moving in to control local schools: "Despite soothing assurances that local schools are to remain fully independent in their management of federal money, the evidence is that controls are being imposed even at the early stages of the new programs."

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**THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY**—"I am wondering what would have happened to me if . . . some fluent talker had converted me to the theory of the eight-hour day, and convinced me that it was not fair to my fellow workers to put forth my best efforts in my work. I am glad that the eight-hour day had not been invented when I was a young man. If my life had been made up of eight-hour days I do not believe I could have accomplished a great deal. This country would not amount to as much as it does . . . if the young men had been afraid that they might earn more than they were paid."—Thomas A. Edison

# A Year's End Look at Viet Nam

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

The conflict in Viet Nam becomes stranger and stranger. We would like to turn it into a vest pocket "world" war against communism. That is, we wish to enlist other free world nations, but we want to do this within the present area of conflict and without destroying the Communist regime in Hanoi.

In their recent visit to the NATO conference in Paris, Secretaries Rusk and McNamara for the first time scolded the European allies for lack of participation and said that NATO could not confine its activities to Europe alone. Also, for the first time, McNamara informed the NATO council that the Chinese nuclear capability would become a reality during this decade—he reportedly used the date of 1967.

**And yet there has been no hint of demanding NATO assistance on pain of withdrawing some of our expensively maintained forces in Europe, or of doing anything to impede the growth of the nuclear build-up in Communist China.**

Some of the bare statistics in Viet Nam make a tale of their own. American fatalities are mounting, but for every life we lose the enemy loses at least

Gen. John McConnell, Air Force chief of staff, seems to feel Russian MIGs will be used in Viet Nam in 1966.

10 lives. This 1-to-10 ratio is based on body counts, and does not include the hundreds of Viet Cong and North Vietnamese regulars who die of wounds. It does not include the deaths inflicted by our air attacks in both South and North Viet Nam. The known enemy fatalities are 50 per cent higher in the last six months of 1965 than in the first six months, indicating a steeply rising rate of kill that should carry on into 1966.

But the discouraging factor is that the enemy has increased in numbers, despite the heavy kill-rate. The best obtainable figure is that there were 125,000 VCs in action in 1964 and 225,000 in 1965. Our own forces have increased in the order of 23,000 at the end of '64 to 180,000 at the end of '65. We are building huge logistical support complexes in the form of docks, airfields and roads. The year's end will come, however, without any measurable gain of territory. We seem to be cranking up for a big push, but we have not made it.

Meanwhile, pilots back from air missions, when asked if the anti-aircraft flak was "light," "moderate" or "heavy," are increasingly giving it as "heavy." A Pentagon source tells me that the enemy targets are defended by "extremely heavy, extremely good" anti-aircraft batteries, presumably supplied by Red China. There is no place where our planes can go in North Viet Nam without running into intense fire from the ground.

If they go into the Hanoi-Haiphong industrial area, they go up against the surface-to-air (SAM) missiles supplied by Russia and into territory protected by an estimated 70 Russian MIGs. Thus far, we have been only to the edges of the Hanoi-Haiphong area, and we have not really tested what these advanced missiles and planes can do to us. There have been 150 SAM projectiles fired in anger, and they have brought down nine American planes. The MIGs have attacked our planes only three times, presumably because the North Vietnamese pilots are not sufficiently trained—or were not during 1965—for aerial combat.

**But Gen. John McConnell, the Air Force chief of staff, returned from a Viet Nam visit and declared on December 5 that "we may not always enjoy the permissive environment . . . virtually unchallenged rule of the skies." He seemed to be prediciting that the MIGs will go into action in 1966.**

In sum, time is not on our side in Viet Nam. We are killing many enemies, but not reducing their numbers. We are losing men and planes to Chinese and Russian weapons, but are not attacking China, Russia or the seat of government in Hanoi. We are entreating our allies for assistance, but not getting tough about it. We have assembled ground-gaining units and equipment, but have not yet attempted to gain ground.

It is a war of many paradoxes, many disappointments, and the coming of the New Year does not invite any predictions.

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# Downhill at the U.N.

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

In this season of good will, it would be pleasant to be able to report that the United Nations is doing better and coming closer to realizing men's hopes for peace.

But the session of the General Assembly ended early on December 22 in what the Irish foreign minister had described earlier as "a welter of recrimination, indecision, futility and confusion."

The fact that this 20th session was "normal"; that in the opening days the United States had backed down on the peace-keeping assessment issue, lulled some into believing the world organization was making progress. We suspect that a great many other people —and we're talking about those who pay some attention to what's going on in the world—never gave the United Nations a second thought. The wrangling there is profitless and endlessly dreary.

**Perhaps the most positive move the assembly made was to approve a record budget of more than $121 million. But its members chose to say little about the fact that passing the hat to pay its $100-million debts raised only $20 million. Neither France nor Russia, the principal defaulters, paid a penny.**

Last month American Ambassador Goldberg announced that the United States had paid far more than its share ever since the United Nations was organized, and "now it is up to others."

But the delegates had heard that before, too. Many times. And Uncle Sam had always galloped to the rescue.

Now the peace-keeping arrangement on the Gaza Strip along the Egypt-Israel border is in jeopardy. It has cost about $18 million a year for the past nine years.

The arrangement in Cyprus is in danger of breaking up. It has cost $42 million since March 1964, but only 35 million has been pledged or paid.

What seemed like a glowing U.N. achievement at the time, the India-Pakistan cease-fire in September, has been eroded. The armies of the two countries never withdrew to their original positions as the Security Council ordered.

**The delegates spent much of their time in almost incoherent fury about Rhodesia, and in belaboring South Africa. But on finances it kept what Mr. Goldberg called "a thunderous silence," and on other problems and issues there was almost no constructive talk of any kind.**

If the United Nations can't pay its bills and can't keep the peace, its one remaining function—aside from those of independent humanitarian agencies which would doubtless continue to function without the General Assembly or the Security Council—is to permit free exchange of ideas. In short, to talk.

But the quality of the talk also was dismal at this session. It reflected in Irishman Frank Aiken's summarizing phrase, "recrimination, indecision, futility and confusion." It led nowhere, and it raised again the well-worn but pertinent question whether the United Nations is worth saving and, strictly to the point, whether the U.S. Treasury will once more do the saving.

That issue will come before Congress when it reconvenes next month. It deserves more than passing attention from the busy senators and representatives.

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**HOW MUCH CAPITAL** investment is required for each production worker? The 1962 figures (the latest official data) gleaned from the Bureau of Labor Statistics by the National Industrial Conference Board reveal that American manufacturers (taken as a whole) have invested $21,677 for each production worker. Here's the breakdown of figures for some of the major industries: petroleum, $110,700 (by far the highest); tobacco, $46,814; chemicals, $43,811; primary metals, $28,336; motor vehicles, $27,268; instruments, $23,103; food and beverages, $21,383; paper and products, $20,695; nonelectrical machinery, $20,173; stone, clay and glass, $19,209; transportation equipment, $17,552.

# Poverty War Attack on the Middle Class

From the Arizona *Republic*

Are the Poverty Warriors about to declare war on the middle class?

The cloud on the horizon may be no larger than a man's hand, but recently three well-separated social engineers lit into the middle class in a way that appeared much more than mere coincidence:

Item: A Rutgers University team reported that "middle-class colonialism" is appearing in the management of a Job Corps Training Center at Camp Kilmer, in New Jersey.

Item: A Poverty War consultant named Samuel Levine attacked a Phoenix proposal for an Inner City Literacy Program for its "middle-class value orientations."

Item: Dr. Dan Dodson, director of the Center for Human Relations and Community Studies at New York University, told an Arizona State University seminar that the middle class had fled to the suburbs where it was trying to "hide from society" in some sort of genteel isolation.

Until fairly recently, the United States gloried in the strength of its middle class. Many a Yanqui lecturer has told Mexico it suffers from having only the very rich and the very poor, with no middle class of any consequence. The Mexicans, by the way, have taken the advice, and one of the great results of the continuing Mexican revolution has been the evolution of a middle class.

Historically, the American dream has been to escape from poverty into the middle class. Negroes, like the Germans and Italians and Irish and all the other ethnic groups before them, have been achieving middle-class status. But the pace is admittedly slow, and the behavioral scientists apparently feel they must now attack the middle class for its failure to understand the problems of the poor or, even worse, for attempting to force middle-class morality on the poverty class.

**We view this process with considerable misgivings. Granting that there is a lot of smugness and self-satisfaction among the middle class, we still think such desires as a home and a college education will help the poverty class more than the moral values of a switch-blade or a marijuana reefer. We are also pretty sure that the real know-how of this country, in sociological education as well as economic capitalism, lies with middle-class citizens.**

If the United States really wants to create a classless society, it can do so better by bringing the poverty class up to middle-class standards than by insisting each must maintain its own set of values.

Perhaps the opposition to this approach has been generated by poverty war generalissimos who foresee defeats in their campaign, and want a reason on which to blame their failure. The inability of the middle class to understand the poor might become an excuse for failure. But it won't be a plausible excuse because too many middle-class Americans can remember when they were poor themselves.

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**IRS BUGGING**—Sen. Edward Long (D.-Mo.) reports the Internal Revenue Service refused to allow 128 of its agents "who had graduated from IRS' wiretap and bugging school" to answer questionnaires on electronic eavesdropping. Long had sought the answers as chairman of the Senate subcommittee on administrative practices and procedure, which is probing the IRS' "police state" methods.

# BOOK NOTES

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That we take note of a book here does not necessarily *mean we fully endorse it, nor even that it is written* from a conservative viewpoint. It means merely that we regard it as one which may have an impact on political thinking, and accordingly may be of interest to our readers.

THE EDITORS

**DESPOILERS OF DEMOCRACY** by Clark R. Mollenhoff (Doubleday, 411 pages, $5.95). The title page promises this to be "The real story of what Washington propagandists, arrogant bureaucrats, mismanagers, influence peddlers, and outright corrupters are doing to our federal government." The promise is amply fulfilled in 26 chapters, including ones titled "Lying in State (and Defense)," "A Bug in the State Department," and "The 'Gross Improprieties' of Bobby Baker." The author, a member of the Washington bureau of the Cowles Publications and a Pulitzer Prize-winning newsman, is well known for his earlier work, "Washington Cover-Up."

In this present book Mollenhoff has, as Edward Neff writes in the Republican Congressional **Newsletter**, "painstakingly collected and set down, detail by infuriating detail, a record of cynicism, blind conceit greed, treachery and simple stupidity."

**THE ANTI-VIET NAM AGITATION AND THE TEACH-IN MOVEMENT** (a Staff Study of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, 256 pages, 70 cents). This is an exhaustive, indexed study, intended, as Sen. Thomas Dodd writes in the introduction, to establish "whether the Communist party and its various affiliates have succeeded in infiltrating and manipulating and exploiting the so-called teach-in movement and the anti-Viet Nam agitation . . ." The report concludes that the evidence is overwhelming that the world Communist apparatus has done just that.

(Order this booklet directly from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.)

**RECLAIMING THE AMERICAN DREAM** by Richard C. Cornuelle (Random House, 171 pages, $3.95). Mr. Cornuelle rejects the notion that the fading American dream can ever be recaptured by the complicated interplay of a **laissez faire** market, or through the prevailing system of monarchy-by-bureaucrat. Instead, he suggests, those frightened into action by the specter of Big Government should recognize the potential for social accomplishment of the "independent sector"—those non-government, non-free enterprise organizations which have fallen lately into disuse. Mr. Cornuelle sees the independent sector at work when a private organization develops anti-polio vaccine, the Mormon Church provides for the welfare needs of its members and the Alcoholics Anonymous help each other. The ideas are not all new and the conclusions perhaps overly optomistic but the author marshalls impressive support for his contentions.


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# Is McNamara Encouraging a Soviet Attack?

By REP. CRAIG HOSMER (R.-Calif.)

The most usual unofficial* public estimate of U.S. nuclear weapon explosive power is some 30,000 megatons, distributed as follows:

**STRATEGIC WEAPONS SYSTEMS**

680 B-52 and B-58 bombers, averaging bomb loads of 40 MT each. **27,200 MT**

1,350 Strategic missiles, averaging warheads of 1 MT each..... **1,350 MT**

**Strategic Subtotal ..... 28,550 MT**

**OTHER WEAPONS**

Weapons in reserve, repair, tactical deployment and miscellaneous ..... **1,450 MT**

**GRAND TOTAL..... 30,000 MT**

These calculations indicate our manned bombers and missiles stand ready to deliver 28,550 strategic megatons of nuclear explosives in retaliation should the United States suffer nuclear attack. So far, this capability has deterred a surprise Soviet nuclear attack against us.

President Johnson and Secretary McNamara are moving to reduce this strategic megatonnage by 29 per cent—or 58 per cent should the planned FB111 bomber prove inadequate.

**They have announced 425 manned bombers will be scrapped. At an average payload of 40 MT per aircraft, 17,000 megatons of nuclear firepower are to be eliminated. The move will reduce by 59.5 per cent —from 28,550 to 11,550 megatons —our present capacity to retaliate.**

To partially offset this reduction, Johnson and McNamara plan by 1971 to add 210 new bombers and 360 new missiles to the strategic forces. Assuming these carry the same average payloads as existing weapons, the 17,000 megaton reduction will be offset by 8,400 new bomber megatons and 360 new missile megatons —a total of 8,760 megatons.

On this basis the new 1971 level of our strategic megatonnage will be 71 per cent of what it is today; that is, 20,310 compared to today's 28,550 megatons.

It is to be noted with extreme caution that this calculation generously assumes the 210 new and yet undesigned replacement bombers actually will carry 40 MT payloads of intercontinental missions. They are to be the FB111, a variant of the TFX fighter aircraft still under development. Of the FB111, retired SAC Commander Gen. Curtis E. LeMay states, "this will be inadequate to do the job for several reasons . . . insufficient ranges, insufficient size. It just is not big enough."

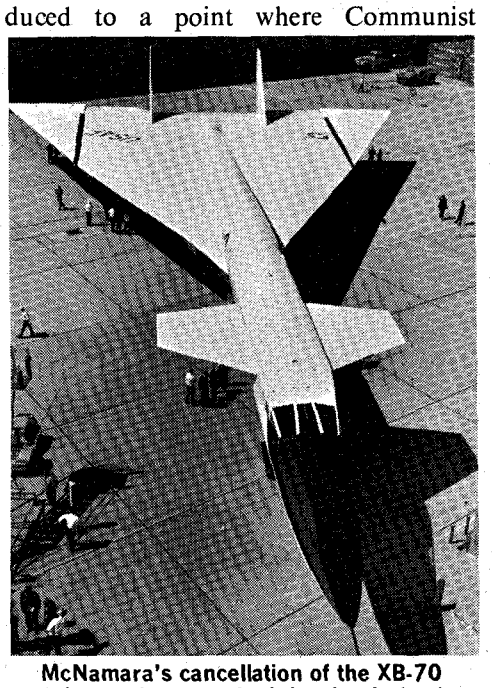
Secretary McNamara estimated earlier this year that the present superiority of U.S. strategic forces over the Soviet Union's "exceeds 3 or 4 to 1." Thus, at its most generous interpretation, the Johnson-McNamara cutback will reduce this ratio to something around 2 or 3 to 1. If Gen. LeMay is correct, if the FB111 proves inadequate and its megatonnage unavailable, then the ratio will slip to between 1.25 and 1.66 to 1.

It is clear that Mr. Johnson and Mr. McNamara still see a need for U.S. strategic retaliatory forces to deter Soviet surprise attack. Otherwise they would simply eliminate them rather than reduce them.

**This need is based on the repeated assertions of Soviet leaders that communism shall dominate the world. Marxist-Leninist dogma compels these leaders to carry forward a program of world domination. Further, it charges them to carry it forward with maximum haste, utilizing the highest degree of force which can be employed without provoking retaliatory action that would impose unacceptable damage on the Communist homeland and base of power. If they do not do so, they are guilty of the Communist "sin" of "deviation" from dogma.**

The principal—perhaps the only—reason for U.S. strategic forces is to have the capability to impose unacceptable damage on the Communist homeland which, in fact, deters Communist leaders from a dogmatic decision to strike us to expedite the program of world domination. Our strategic forces are realistically based on an understanding of this Communist doctrine and are in realistic response to it.

If these forces are eliminated or reduced to a point where Communist



**McNamara's cancellation of the XB-70 (above) has resulted in the lack of any true manned bomber to replace the B-52.**

leaders calculate we are capable only of imposing "acceptable" damage, then deterrence fails and the Soviets are compelled to strike us.

To avoid this consequence, the United States must continually and correctly answer two basic questions: "What does it take to deter the Soviets?" and "Do we have it?" We have continually and correctly done so up to now. At least, any miscalculation has been on the upside, rather than the downside; otherwise we would have been attacked.

What about the future? . . .

Many factors must be considered in assessing whether the Johnson-McNamara manipulations reducing the nation's strategic capabilities will leave us with sufficient remaining power to threaten retaliatory damage great enough to deter Kremlin decision makers.

Among them are these:

1. The USSR places great emphasis on large-yield weapons for strategic deterrence. Its arsenal stocks them heavily. It has tested a 57-megaton weapon and announced the ability to fabricate 100-megaton warheads. It has the large missiles needed to deliver them. Undoubtedly in their eyes the credability of our deterrent threat dwindles because of our major shift from aircraft delivering 40 megatons to missiles delivering only one megaton.

2. The USSR claims success in developing anti-aircraft and anti-missile defenses able to "hit a fly in the sky." It proceeds with a vigorous program to install them at many strategic locations. It is argued by some that installations of this nature are significant because they signal an intention to strike first, then utilize the defensive weapons to minimize retaliatory damage.

3. Success in war and therefore success in deterring a war requires a substantial amount of "overkill," or excess capability. Our deterrent force must both survive and penetrate enemy territory with sufficient undamaged aircraft and missiles to inflict unacceptable damage —even after suffering substantial reductions. These reductions include: Damage by the enemy's first strike, malfunctions, accidents, attrition during flight, destruction while over enemy territory, missed targets and so on. (For example: During World War II we manufactured a quantity of bullets 65 times that of the entire population of the Axis powers and 2,000 depth charges for every enemy submarine. For every enemy submarine "killed" an average of 1,500 depth charges were expended. Compare this 1,500-to-1 ratio with the secretary's "2 or 3" to 1.)

4. It is reasonable to assume the Soviets assign some realistic diminution factor to our retaliatory capability arising from our recurring need to divert resources to troubled areas such as the Dominican Republic and Viet Nam.

5. It is reasonable to assume the Soviets assign some realistic diminution factor to the credibility of our deterrent, not only from repeated Kennedy-Johnson Administration moves to scale it down in size, but from related Administration policies, such as the 50 per cent cutback in fissionable material production, large slashes in the military budget, wide-ranging activities of the U.S. Disarmament Agency, and consistently reiterated presidential fears of escalation, proliferation and accidental war.

6. The area of the Soviet Union is some 8.6 million square miles. The satellite countries add further to this figure. The area of the United States is 3.6 million square miles. The basic strategic coverage load on the United States by this measure thus exceeds that of the Soviets by over 2 to 1.

7. The high density population and industrial concentration characteristics of the United States compared to those of the Soviets places a relatively smaller strategic load on the USSR than upon us.

**8. The heavy odds that the Soviets will initiate a surprise first strike attack against us, rather than the United States striking first against them, further lessens the Soviet strategic load.**

9. The McNamara 2 or 3-to-1 ratio applies only to the Soviet threat. Such substantial megatonnage as increasingly must be reserved to deter Red China's growing nuclear arsenal must be deducted from, and therefore diminish, the United States side of his equation.

10. The fact that the Soviets tend to accept rather large damage factors before, in their own minds, they classify them as unacceptable. In World War II they readily accepted 25 million human fatalities and the destruction of 40 per cent of their industrial capacity without considering the combined loss "unacceptable" damage.

**Rep. Hosmer is a member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee. This article is excerpted from a special report he prepared for the House Republican Conference.**

According to testimony in House Armed Services Committee files, up to 149 million American lives can be lost unless surprise nuclear attack upon the United States is deterred. With a national population of 195 million people, this means each of us has a 76.4 per cent chance of being one of those fatalities.

That is precisely the stake—our life —we have on a bet whether President Johnson and Secretary McNamara know what they are doing and are correctly answering the questions: "What does it take to deter the Soviets?" and "Will we have it after the cutbacks are made?"

Considering the fallibilities of Mr. McNamara's judgments, the many considerations involved in answering the questions, and what each of us has at stake here, we have an absolute right to far better assurances than the President and his secretary have given that they proceed with wisdom.

Moreover, the United States is a government, "of, by and for" the people. It is not, supposedly, a dictatorship where "Big Brother watches over you." We Americans have a right to know the facts and participate in decisions which control our national and individual survival. We have a right to know what the Johnson-McNamara answers to these questions are based on so we ourselves can check and re-check their validity.

The Administration's duty to the nation to furnish this information is clear and it is challenged to do so.

Unless and until it does so satisfactorily and independent judgments can be made, the only safe assumption is that the projected lowering of present U.S. strategic capabilities to 71 per cent of their existing levels is deadly risky business to be opposed vigorously.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# Can We Afford the 'Great Society'?

**Excerpted from a speech by JOHN J. HENRY**

One of the major problems in the achievement of the goals of the "Great Society" is cost. What President Johnson calls the "fabulous" 89th Congress appropriated over $119 billion in its first session. And that's just the initiation fee to get into the "Great Society." The much larger dues and assessments come later. *$119 billion!* Do you know how much a billion dollars is?

If you should give your wife a billion dollars and tell her to go out and spend it at the rate of a thousand dollars a day and not come back until it's all spent, you wouldn't see her for 2,739 years!

Let's look at that $119-billion appropriation in another way. It means that Congress voted to spend over $1,641 this year for every employed person in the United States. Yet it is still incredible that the average American does not relate government spending to money coming out of his pocket. Instead, he thinks of it as something for nothing, a largess coming from the filmy nowhere.

How often have you heard seemingly intelligent adults comment, in deep gratitude, that "the government" is paying for 85 per cent of the cost of our highways . . . or part or all of the cost of any number of other projects or facilities? Yet those dollars come from one source and one source alone: John Q. Taxpayer.

**It's been suggested that considerable restraint would be put on federal spending if Congress were required to send a bill to each taxpayer for his share of the proposed projects' cost. How long would foreign aid last if the average employed person got a bill for $66.66 for his share of our annual handouts to other nations?**

There's another thing about cost that most of us don't realize. It's this: For every day's pay the government gives someone for *not* working, there's someone working for a whole day *without* pay. The same is true of the mounting millions of individuals on government payrolls. . . .

An economy-minded congressman once told me that he placed great stock in what he called Hepplethwaite's Law of Diminishing Responsibility. The law states that the greater the distance between the man who spends the money and the man who pays the bill, the less the wisdom and efficiency with which the money will be spent.

You've all seen the application of this law in your own communities. When the town fathers want to build a school for a million dollars, you throw them out of office for being extravagant . . . and then vote a $750,000 bond issue for a more practical, more efficiently designed school building. But when the federal government offers to pay most of the costs for a $3-million school in your community—built to Uncle Sam's lavish specifications—you don't blink an eye

**Can you imagine your own community taxpayers agreeing to lay out $6,000 per year for each of your high school dropouts to pay for the training and rehabilitation of these youngsters? Yet that's what the Job Corps is doing right now with money taken from your other pocket.**

The money spent on one of these Job Corps enrollees per year could send four worthy youngsters to college for the same period. And the irony of it is that almost one-sixth of the dropouts recruited into the Job Corps have already dropped out of the corps.

Do you suppose that the taxpayers in Washington, D.C., would have voted an appropriation of $635,000 to run a day-care center for one year for 450 pre-school-age children if the money were coming from *local* taxes instead of federal taxes? The cost works out to $1,411.11 per child per year. That's $61 more than the tuition at Washington's most expensive university, and $600 per child more than the cost of attending the most expensive, most exclusive private kindergarten school in the whole Washington area and more than three times as much as the per-child cost in the D.C. public school system.

But cost is no consideration. You see, Washingtonians are getting this free from the federal government!

The people of Gibson County, Tenn., are very frugal. They're mighty careful about appropriating local tax money.

If a local politician had suggested that $91,300 be appropriated to teach 60 Gibson County women how to cook, he would have been run out of the county on a rail. But this is exactly what is being spent for this purpose by the anti-poverty program in Gibson County. How many people do you think would enroll in a cooking school at a tuition rate of over $1,500 per person? To Sargent Shriver, that's really cooking with gas!

**I have given you a few examples. There are hundreds, yes, thousands, just like them. They sound incredible—impossible to believe. Yet, they are there—in the record—to be seen by anyone who happens to be interested. Unfortunately, there are fewer and fewer people interested with each passing year.**

We are becoming less and less aware of the money we are spending foolishly, because we never get the chance to feel it. It doesn't actually pass through our hands on a pay-out basis. Yet we are assuming and paying this full burden of taxation—direct, indirect and double taxation—to our federal, state and local governments.

True, some of the money is coming back to us in the form of buildings, highways and hundreds of other helps and handouts, but the almost unbelievable costs of bureaucracy are being worn off those dollars before they are returned to us and we have little or no choice as to how the money is to be spent.

☐ ☐ ☐

**CATHOLICS JOIN THE NCC?**—*The Nation*, the weekly ultra-leftist magazine, recently urged U.S. Catholics to join with the National Council of Churches in calling for a cease-fire in Viet Nam. The left-leaning, tax-exempt NCC passed a resolution December 3rd, 93 to 10, which called for cessation of bombing of North Viet Nam. *The Nation* editorially advised: "[an]other measure which might have some effect would be for the Catholic Church in the United States to issue an appeal paralleling that of the National Council of Churches." The magazine, which went on to describe the attempt by North Viet Nam to take over the south as a "civil" war, gave one of the more interesting reasons for the conflict. "The civil war in Viet Nam . . . had its inception in the conflict between the Communist Viet Minh and the Catholic minority."

*Mr. Henry is editor of Babson's Washington Forecast Letter, published by the Business Statistics Corp. The speech from which this article was excerpted was delivered at the Babson 52nd annual National Conference on Investments and Business.





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